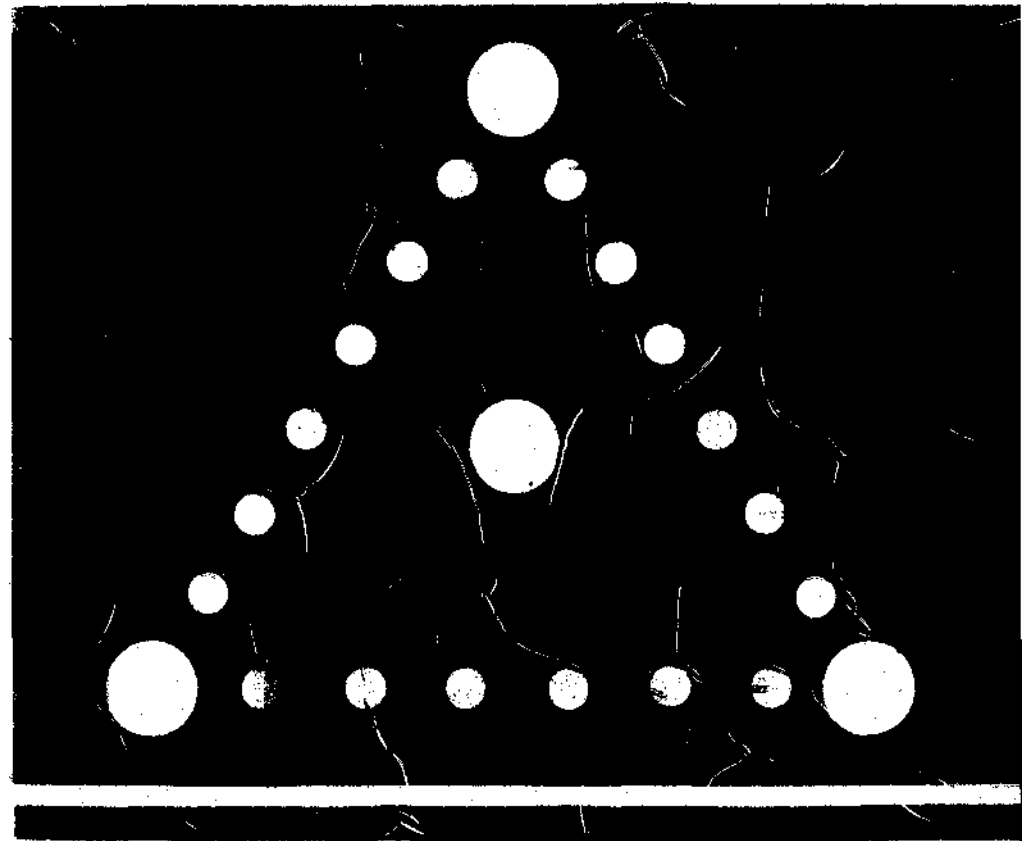


History of **KASHMIR SAIVISM**



Dr. B.N. Pandit

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The work traces the basic origin of Saivism in the prehistoric civilization of Indus valley, its gradual penetration into the works by Vedic Aryans,. Coming to the actual history of its development it presents sufficient information about Saiva Agamas and especially the Trika Agamas serving as the sources of Saiva monism. Then it comes to the mystic type of works like Sivasutra and Spandakarika. Throwing sufficient light on the significance of the principle of *spanda*, it discusses at length the controversial problem of the authorship of Spandakarika. Proceeding through the history of the development of the philosophical side of the subject through the important works like Sivadrsti and Isvarapratyabhijna it presents the importance of the contribution of Abhinavagupta towards raising of the subject to the climax of its growth on both the sides of theory and practical theology. The last chapters are devoted to (I) the contribution of the authors of secondary importance (2) philosophical lyric poetry and (3)Neo Saivism of Acharya Amrta-vagbhava. The worth of Nagarjuna, an unknown author of philosophic lyric poetry, is also brought to light in a chapter. Personal history of prominent authors is added in an appendix.

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Works under publication:- Eng: Specific Doctrines of Kashmir Saivism, comparative study of K.S., History of K.S., Saiva Monism in Kashmir, Essence of the Exact Reality, Mirror of Self Supremacy; Hindi and Samsk: Parimarthasara-vyakhya and Sivasutra-vivrti.

History of
KASHMIR SAIVISM

Dr. B.N. Pandit

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Dedicated
to
ACHARYA SRI ABHINAVAGUPTA

Preface

This work on the SAIVISM OF KASHMIR is meant to present the historical development of the subject. The origin of Kashmir Saivism has been discussed in the detailed introduction given before the chapter I. The work after that consists of eleven main chapters in all. The first chapter is also of an introductory character, giving just an outline of the development of the system. The second chapter throws light on the scriptural works that serve as the sources of Kashmir Saivism. The third one deals with the origin and historical development of *Spanda-Sastra*, the knotty problem of the authorship of *Spanda-Karika* and the philosophic significance of the Spanda principle of Saivism.

The philosophy of Saiva monism was systematized and expressed through a logical method for the first time by Somananda in his *Sivadrsti* and the fourth chapter of the work in hand is devoted to such topic. The next chapter throws light on the importance of *Isvarapratyabhijna* of Utpaladeva and provides an introduction to his other works as well. The fundamentals of his philosophy have also been discussed briefly in it. The sixth chapter deals at length with the contribution of Abhinavagupta to the theoretical and practical aspects of the philosophy of Kashmir Saivism. The contribution of prominent authors of secondary importance has been discussed fully in the seventh chapter of the work in hand.

Saiva Nagarjuna, an unknown but an important author of Saiva monism, and his works have been brought to light in the eighth chapter of the present work. Its ninth chapter presents a clear example of a spontaneous realization of the

self by a young boy named Sahibrama Kaula and explains his poem depicting the revelation of the Truth brought about by its such automatic realization. It is a poetic expression of the fundamental principle of Saiva monism.

The tenth chapter deals in detail with the poetic expression of the philosophic and theological doctrines of Kashmir Saivism contained in some philosophic hymns composed by ancient teachers and authors of Kashmir Saivism. The eleventh chapter brings to light an unknown Saiva philosopher of very high merit and his fresh views on Saiva philosophy termed here as Neo-Saivism.

A few appendices have been added to the book for the benefit of students.

Dr. Brajnandan Sharma has helped me a lot in preparing the press copy of this volume and *in proof* reading. He deserves my thanks for such help.

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Introduction

Philosophy in the West is a higher aspect of human wisdom based on sound arguments, worked out through correct reasoning and expressed in a logical style and method. Indian philosophy, known as *Darsana*, is, on the other hand, a super-human direct experience of the truth, attained by great yogins through their finer intuition, developed by means of practice in Yoga. Such experience shines in a psychic state which lies beyond all logic, reasoning and wisdom, because all such means to search out the truth are based on human conventions, established on mundane experiences of finite beings capable to know and to do just a little under the restrictions of the laws of nature. The *Darsana* of Indian yogins also descends to the level of wisdom, but does so only when some such philosopher, having already experienced the truth through his intuition, tries to form a clear idea about it, and about its nature, character etc. in his understanding. Reasoning, based on conventional logic, serves just as an aid in such understanding of the truth. Logical argumentation has a greater use in making others understand the truth by means of its expression. Its still greater and more frequent use is seen in arguments and debates aimed at defeating some antagonists, bringing them on the right path of philosophic thinking and developing correct beliefs in them.

Logical arguments and discussions serve thus only as aids to develop a correct understanding of the intuitively discovered philosophic truth and to bring others on the line at their mental level.

A question rises here as to why did Indian yogins preach the truth in mutually different ways and how did Indian

philosophy evolve into mutually opposite schools of thought. It is just because the intuition of all the seekers of truth is not of one and the same standard. Some rare adept thinkers arouse in them a sharpest type of intuition which illuminates the truth in its inner-most and finest aspect as it penetrates into its most interior secrets; while the intuition of some lower type of yogins does very often rest at some blissful intermediary step in the process of its exploration. Some state of high blissfulness catches hold of them and they, feeling it highly tasteful, do not move ahead in their inquisitive search for the innermost aspect of the truth. Such attractive aspects of the truth shine at different steps of the state of sleeping animation termed as *Susupti*. Besides, each and every yogin does not possess an equally sharp understanding capacity with the result that each yogin cannot form one and the same type of mental idea about the truth. Then the vocal capability of different yogins and the efficiency of their respective language do also play a great part in bringing about vast differences in their expressions of the truth.

All that results in the development of various types of schools of thought based on Yogic experiences of the truth. *Apavarga* of Nyaya-Vaisesika is, in accordance with its definition, such a step in the sleeping state of animation at which a being tastes the charms of a complete rest and does not at all feel any inclination or propensity towards any sort of knowing, desiring, doing, etc. *Kaivalya* of the Samkhya-yoga is another step in the sleeping state. A being resting at such step is left alone by all his exterior and interior senses and organs and he loses, for the time being, all his capacities to desire, to know and to do anything. He takes perfect rest in a state of absolute loneliness called *Kaivalya*. At a still finer step of the sleeping state a Yogin loses even the egotic sense of his individual self-awareness which becomes totally extinct, and consequently, such state is termed as *Nirvana* of the Buddhist thinkers. The search of the Advaita Vadantins stopped at such a finer and higher step of *Susupti* from where they could have just a peep into the state of *Turya*, the state of correct revelation, counted and talked about as the fourth state of animation. They saw the truth as an eternally ex-

istent, infinite consciousness, shining through its own psychic lustre and feeling itself highly blissful in nature and consequently they defined it as *Saccidananda*. But they did not discover the theistic nature of the truth because they were held up at such step of *Susupti* by the tastefulness of the self-bliss. It is *on such account that they had to resort to a hypothetical supposition of the existence of an impure element called Maya as an entity other than the pure Brahman for the sake of a philosophic explanation of the phenomenal existence.* It is on such account that *Svacchanda Tantra* says thus about all such thinkers:

"*Bhramayatyeva tan maya hyamokse moksa-Hpsaya*".
(Sv. T-10-1141)

Higher yogins of superior merit discovered the truth at several lower and higher steps of *Turya* and saw it through their intuition as the infinite and pure consciousness, having Godhead as its own essential nature and found it as the only basic cause of cosmic creation, dissolution etc. Since they also rested at more than one higher and lower steps of the state of intuitive revelation of the truth, some of them could not shake off, or did not like to shake off, their personal individuality and consequently developed a theistic philosophy seeing diversity between God, soul and matter. Some other Yogins saw a partial unity between them and the infinite universal consciousness and consequently developed a philosophy of theism maintaining unity in diversity. Still higher type of yogins discovered the state of perfect unity. They pushed their individuality into oblivion and discovered themselves as the one universal consciousness having Godhead as its essential and basic nature. Practising such revelation of the reality again and again, they attained such a position in spiritual elevation in which they saw the perfect unity, unity in diversity and perfect diversity as mere manifestations of the single, eternal, infinite and pure consciousness, endowed with all divine powers of absolute Godhead. They saw God even in all inanimate entities, as well as in things taken to be good and bad, pure and impure, desirable and undesirable. That is *Partidvaita*, the supreme monism developed and taught by the authors of Kashmir Saivism. They saw all phenomena as the

outward reflections of the divine powers of the Absolute, shining within the psychic light of its pure consciousness. They discovered even Maya, the root cause of all misery, as a reflection of a divine power of God and advised to see only God as one's self, shining in His both the aspects of universal manifestation and transcendental position, for the purpose of the perfect discovery of the truth and accepted only such two-fold realization as the means of the final and highest goal of life.

As for the basic pre-historic origin of that monistic Saivism, it can be discovered in the remains of the Indus Valley civilization which proves it beyond doubt that Saivism as a religion of a highly civilized nation, well versed in the arts of reading and writing, had attained remarkable development in its aspects of ritual and higher theology in India in the third millennium B.C. It appears that the Indus Valley people were highly advanced in spiritual philosophy as well. The realization of the theistic and monistic absolutism of spiritual philosophy cannot be an out-come of mere mental thinking of wise thinkers. It can be the result of only an intuitional realization of the truth, developed and attained by the means of practice in such a system of yoga that leads a practitioner to a psychic state that transcends even the state of the highest dreamless sleep, shining in the *Nirvikalpa samadhi* of the yoga of Patanjali. Such realization of the truth shines only in the *Turya state*, the state of intuitional revelation. Such revelation can be aroused easily and quickly by means of *Sambhava yoga* of Saivism and the bust of a yogin in *Sambhavi mudra*, found at Mohenjo-daro, proves that the yogins in Indus Valley civilization used to practise such *mudra*. Therefore it can be guessed correctly that such yogins must have had the realization of the self as the infinite and pure I-consciousness, having infinite divine potency, called Godhead, as its essential nature. That proves the existence of the philosophy of theistic absolutism, the fundamental principle of monistic Saivism, in India at a time about 3000 B.C. Since such philosophic views of absolute theistic monism are absent from the family books of Rgveda, and since the use of the word yoga, in the sense of yogic practice,

is not found anywhere in that Veda, it can be guessed correctly that the practice of yoga and the philosophy of monistic and theistic absolutism were not originally known to Vedic priests. The poetic description of absolute monism in *Purusa sukta* (R.V.X-90) and that of monistic theism in *Vagambhrniya* hymn (R.V.X-125), both belonging to the tenth Mandala of that Veda, prove that Vedic priests and authors learnt the monistic philosophy of theistic absolutism from the yogins of the Indus Valley, after having firmly settled in the plains of the Indus basin. The remains of that pre-Aryan civilization prove it to have been much more advanced and developed than that of Vedic Aryans who invaded Indus Valley and conquered it with the help of their fast moving cavalry. The Indus Valley civilization was a highly developed city-civilization, while the invading Aryan tribes lived as clans of nomads, moving from region to region along with their flocks of sheep, goats, cows and horses. It is therefore no wonder that even such conquering people were highly influenced by the culture of the people conquered by them. Pasupata Saivism of Tantric character penetrated thus into Vedic religion consisting of fire worship and eulogies to forces of nature personified as gods. The Vedic Aryans picked up, slowly and steadily, the philosophy of theistic monism, practice in yoga, worship of Pasupati Siva, Mother Goddess, idols and phallic figures of linga and yoni, use of Tantric diagrams, etc. from the original inhabitants of Indus valley and such mixture of these two cultures appeared as Hinduism which contains such elements of both the types even now.

Saiva monism was thus picked up by Vedic priests from the yogins of Indus Valley people. It was practised and assimilated by them in course of time, was expressed by them poetically in some later portions of Rgveda (X-90, 125) and also in *Sata-rudra* section of Yajurveda (Vaj-xvi). It appeared afterwards as the monistic philosophy of Vedic Upanisads. Such philosophy came under the influence of Buddhism and was consequently interpreted according to the theory of *Vivarta* which is nearly the same theory of non-existentialism as built by Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda, but is expressed in a Vedic style. Such developments in India resulted in a gradual

decay and disturbance in the traditions of teaching and learning of the highly theistic and absolutely monistic theories and practices of Saiva monism, come down from generation to generation. In fact Gaudapada and Sankaracharya had adopted Buddhist methods of discussing philosophic problems just for the purpose of defeating the Buddhist logicians in debates and discussions. But their followers did not take such hints and did not care to take into consideration some Tantric works like *Saundarya lahari*, *Subhagodaya*, *Prapanca-sara* Tantra etc. composed by the same religious leaders. Such tendency earned for them the epithet of *Pracchanna Bauddhas* or Crypto Buddhists. Saivism of Kashmir presented much more adequate logical arguments to silence all Buddhist or Crypto-Buddhist thinkers and established a theistic type of absolute monism. It developed such philosophy of supreme theistic monism in both its aspects of theory and practice and systematized its theology and ritual leaving no stone unturned in the field of spiritual philosophy and removing all doubts about the nature of the exact reality of the existence around us.

The school of Paradvaita philosophy carried ahead the tradition of its teaching and learning through unbroken chains of preceptors and disciples for thousands of years but was not written down clearly as a school of philosophy just to save it from falling into the hands of unworthy practitioners who would have misused it, as did the Asura type of Aryans in the hoary past. When its oral traditions, decreasing gradually in strength and dimension, came nearly to a close with the advancement of the age of Kali, Lord Siva sent down three great Yogins to this world for the purpose of the reorientation of the system of Saivism. Amardaka, out of them, taught Saivism through a view point of diversity and Srinatha adopted a view of unity in diversity in his teachings. Trymbakaditya taught Saivism through a view point of absolute unity. He appeared at Kailasa mountain and was initiated in Saiva monism by sage Durvasas. His sixteenth descendent, Sangamaditya, visited Kashmir in the eighth century and settled permanently in the Valley. Kashmiris were already highly advanced in learning, thinking and writing in several

academic fields. They took up the monistic Saivism and carried it to the highest peak of academic evolution. They discovered *Trika Agamas* of monistic Saivism. Vasugupta discovered *Sivasutra*. Bhatta Kallata attained great success in the study and practice of Saiva monism. He achieved high popularity on account of his wonderful success in the attainment of spiritual powers. He composed *Spandakarika* on the principle of *Spanda*, discovered by Vasugupta, his teacher. Somananda, the fifth degree descendent in the line of Sangama-ditya, wrote the first philosophic treatise, under the title *Sivadrsti*, on Saiva monism. His disciple, Utpaladeva, gave refinement to such philosophy and carried it to perfection by writing several works like *Isvara-pratyabhijna*, *Siddhitrayi* etc. Such authors appeared in the ninth century. Abhinavagupta appeared in the tenth century and continued to write at least up to the first quarter of the eleventh century. He systematized the theological aspect of the Saiva monism and threw sufficient and clear light on the Saiva Yoga and the elaborate ritual of the Trika system of Saiva monism in his *Tantraloka*, *Tantrasara*, *Paratrisika-vivarana* and *Malini-vijaya-vartika*. On the side of the theory of Saiva monism, he wrote detailed commentaries on the important works of Somananda and Utpaladeva. His word is final on the interpretation of both the theory and the practice of Saivism of Kashmir. He was followed by authors of secondary importance who wrote either commentaries or text-books for beginners and such tradition is still living in Kashmir. An ancient tradition of writing philosophic hymns also continued in the Valley. Such poetical works are very helpful in grasping the essence of the theoretical and practical aspects of the subject.

None among such authors of Saiva monism, or for that matter, no philosopher of any school of Indian thought, cared to pay any attention to the socio-political matters of the Indian nation. Manu was the only ancient and prominent thinker of India who took *Rajadharma* as the foundation of all the *dharma*s of the four castes. But later writers of philosophy did not show any interest in such problems of society. They took them as topics of other subjects like medicine, agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, art,

handicraft etc. and thought them to be outside the field of philosophy. They accepted *Bhagavadgita* as an authority on spiritual philosophy but did not feel interested in its political philosophy, nor did they take any such lesson from the actual life history of lord Kṛṣṇa. Such an attitude towards life has been an invisible effect of the monkish philosophies of Buddhism and Jainism on the head and heart of Indian people. Such effect of the monkish attitude towards life has been one of the prominent causes of the down-fall of India and Hindu nation and it has been the basic seed of all the worldly humility and misery that we have been bearing for the last one thousand years. We can not at all succeed to establish *Ramarajya* in the country so long as we do not build a close relation between our philosophic ideals and practical problems of life and society. A suitable political and administrative system is essentially needed for such purpose.

Durvasas, the originator of Saiva monism, appeared before a young scholar of Varanasi in 1919/20 and initiated him in the highest type of Saivayoga. Such scholar, named Vaidyanath Shastri Varkale, became a wandering monk in young age and attained a direct realization of the principles and doctrines of Saiva monism through his intuitional revelation. Having been a patriot and a political thinker from his boyhood, he tried to combine the socio-political and spiritual problems of life and wrote some works on Saiva monism and political science from a fresh view-point and his views can be taken as a sort of Neo Saivism. His works appeared in print under his pen name Amṛtavagbhava Acharya. His philosophic works are

Ātma-vilasa, *Vim'satika-sastra* and *Siddhamaharahasya*. His works on political science are *Rāstraloka*, *Sankranti-Panča-dasi* and *Rāstra-sanjivana-bhāṣya*.

Saiva monism, as introduced briefly in the previous pages, is available in its fully evolved form in Sanskrit. But even people knowing Sanskrit cannot grasp its essence without having a thorough mastery over the method of Indian philosophic writing. Most of the Sanskrit scholars of Indian philosophy cannot digest Saiva monism because of their higher interest in, and respect for, the Advaita Vedānta of Sāṅkara. Besides, Saiva monism contains so much of subtle

thinking and so fine an analysis of the higher aspects of the truth that only some very few such scholars of Sanskrit, who may not, on one hand, be prejudiced against any convincing theory that does not agree with the *Vedantavada* of Sankaracharya, and, on the other hand, may be in a position to put in sufficient effort in its study, can be found in the country. Monistic Saivism attained its perfect evolution by the first quarter of the eleventh century, but remained more or less secluded and confined to the valley of Kashmir. It did not spread in any other big centres of Sanskrit learning like Varanasi, Darbhanga, Navadvip, Jagannathapuri, Tirupati, Pune etc. Another fact about Saiva monism is the bestowal of the divine grace by Lord Siva on a being. Only such a being develops taste and interest in it, on whom Lord Siva becomes gracious. Thus says Abhinavagupta about such fact:

Ketaki-kusuma-saurabhe bhrsam
 Bhrnga eva rasiko na maksika;
 Bhairaviya-paramadvayarcane
 Ko'pirajyati MaheSa-coditah. (M.V.V. 2-151)

Research scholars in Indian plains and the South have, of late, developed interest in its study and have produced certain research works on it. But they have not so far cared to correct the mistakes committed by some pioneer research scholars like J.C. Chatterjee and Dr. K.C. Pandey. Sri S.N. Dasgupta did not live to write anything on Saiva monism of the North. Dr. Radhakrishnan did not study the works like *ISvarapratya-bhiina-vimarsini* and *Tantraloka*. Research scholars of the present age depend more on a defective work on it and do not try to learn it from better works. Such defective work is the *Pratyabhijnahrdayam* of Ksemaraja. A far better work to start with is *Paramarthasara* of Abhinavagupta. Such scholars do not very often try to wash off the wrong impressions imbibed from Ksemaraja and also from the pioneer research scholars. Some of them, who try to study *ISvanra pratyabhijna*, do so with the help of *Bhaskari*. They do not at all catch the mistakes committed by Bhaskara-kantha.

The same is occasionally the case with some very rare scholars who study *Tantraloka* with the help of Jayaratha's commentary. Such commentaries are, no doubt, of great help in the study of such abstruse works, but that does not mean that occasional mistakes committed by the commentators should not be taken notice of. Scholars in the West have been developing interest in the Saivism of Kashmir for the last several decades, but generally they have to depend on the works by the two pioneer research scholars mentioned above. They, as well as Indian scholars, are in a great need of a comprehensive work on the subject written in English and composed on the basis of the views of ancient authors from Vasugupta to Abhinavagupta.

My work under the title 'Aspects of Kashmir Saivism' is now about to go out of print. Besides, it is not a comprehensive work dealing with all the important topics of the subject. A fresh work of comprehensive character is therefore required so that scholars and students of Saivism may form a clear picture of the subject in their mind. The publisher of my previous work expressed an intention to publish such a work in English. That encouraged me and I wrote many fresh papers on the topics not covered by the 'Aspects of Kashmir Saivism'. That took me about a year to complete. The whole matter has now been compiled by me. It will be a voluminous work, the publication and distribution of which may become heavy for the publisher and dealer. Therefore I am now classifying the whole matter into four smaller sections. Each section is now to be published as a separate and independent fresh work under a fresh title. It is hoped that curious students and scholars will get sufficient satisfaction through the study of these four books to be published one after another in the near future. A perfect satisfaction can however be attained only through the study of original Sanskrit texts written by ancient authors of the subject and the works written by Acharya Amṛta-vagbhava on Neo-Saivism.

There was one more ancient school of Saiva monism started by Tryambaka through his daughter and was known as Ardhatryambaka school. Its presiding teacher in the tenth century was Sambhunatha who was the master of *Jalandhara-*

peetha at Kangra. He was an expert in the theory and practice of Saiva monism having perfect mastery on both the Trika and Kula systems of practical Saivism. It was he who removed all the doubts of Abhinavagupta and imparted to him the correct knowledge of most of the mysterious topics of philosophy, theology and ritual of Saiva monism. Abhinavagupta refers many times to him as an authority in his several works. His name is mentioned in such context in *Tantraloka* not less than twenty times. The presiding teachers of the schools of Amardaka and Srinatha also were living in Kashmir in the time of Abhinavagupta who attended such schools as a regular student. The school of Tryambaka is the only one of the four which is still living in actual practice and study. Nothing is now known about the other three schools. No written work composed by any author of such schools is available at present. Some references to them and quotations from them are however available in the works on the school of Tryambaka. Kramastotra is the only existent ancient philosophic lyric which can be ascribed to Sambhunatha of Kangra. Two hymns by some Saiva Nagarjuna are available at present and these are *P aramarcanatrimSika* and *Citta-santosa-trimstka*. This Nagarjuna was, most probably, some teacher of the *Ardhatryambka* school of Saiva monism and belonged to Kangra. People, or even scholars, in the area do not know anything either about Sambhunatha or this Nagarjuna. There is only a shrine on the hill of Jwalamukhl which bears the name of the latter.

All these four schools of Saivism have been Tantric in origin and character. Inspirations were drawn by the authors from Tantric scriptures. All their principles and doctrines are based on Tantras. Tantric terminology is in use in them. The whole set up of their thinking, teaching and practice bears a Tantric character. These schools, though non-Vedic in origin and character, do not at all undermine the Vedic socio-religious set up of Hinduism, but support it. Such schools of thought did not found any special religious sects, but presented a highly developed philosophic knowledge and an elaborate system of practical theology and ritual which could be adopted by any aspirants interested in them, without

any restriction based on their caste, creed, sex, etc. An unprejudiced thirst for learning the truth and devotion to the Lord are the only two conditions for initiation in Saivism. There is no doubt in the fact that on certain points these schools of Saivism agree with the Upanisadic Vedanta. But that can not prove their Vedic origin or character, because all schools of spiritual philosophy do have some mutual agreements on some points and topics. Saivism agrees with Buddhism on many points. Hinduism and Islam, two mutually conflicting religions, do have an agreement on many points. Such mutual agreements cannot prove any mutual identity. Saivism is therefore definitely an Agamic philosophy, while the six *Dar'sanas* of Brahmanic Hinduism are basically Vedic schools of thought.

With the advance of the age of Kali, certain Tantric practitioners started to indulge in misuse of Tantric rites through some practices of black magic that earned a bad name for Tantrism. Such bad name of Tantrism is one deferent factor which does not allow Vedic scholars of Sanskrit to develop interest in a thorough study of Saiva monism. A thorough study of Kashmir Saivism, the highest and the best one among all Tantric systems of philosophy, can wash such blemish of Tantrism and can elevate its position to the highest level in respect and honour. The works intended to be published on the subject are aimed at such purpose as well. These will surely be of a lot of help to scholars not knowing Sanskrit and not acquainted with the Indian method of philosophic studies, in understanding Saiva monism and in realizing the greatness of Tantrism.

It is no doubt a fact that Saiva monism, like other schools of Indian philosophy, has not formally discussed in detail the problem of evil in the world. Such problem was once raised strongly by Lord Buddha in the sixth century B.C. It is being raised by scholars at present as well. Somananda raised the point in *Sivadrsti* (I-II, 12). He explained the evil briefly as a mere reflectional show in the divine and blissful play of extroversion of the Godhead of the Absolute. Why did God create the evil at all? Answer to such problem can, in his view, be found in the playfulness of the nature of God.

Since the phenomenal creation is a play, the problem of evil does not arise at all, because everything is fair in a play. Besides, nothing is good or evil by itself. It is the thinking about it that gives it the colour of goodness or evilness. When every thing is seen as Siva, even the painful evil becomes bliss. Thus says Utpaladeva in his *Sivastotravali*.

Duhkhanyapi sukhayante visamapyamrtayate;

Moksayate ca samsaro yatra margah sa Sankarah.

(S-St., 20-22)

Had there been no evil in the phenomenal play of God, there would not have been any good even, because both are the results of a comparative evaluation and are based on the sense of their mutual relativity, imposed on them by finite beings dwelling in Maya. When an aspirant enters the state of Vidya, even the evil becomes blissful for him. The part played by a villain in a drama is very often more attractive and amusing than that played by a hero. The view of Saiva monism does not see anything as comparatively evil or good, but sees every thing as perfectly all blissful. The Vedantic and the Buddhist view to see all good and all evil as false like dreams and as some mere apparent phenomena appearing on the basis of ignorance, has not been accepted by Saiva thinkers, because such views do not stand the test of logic and psychology based on the intuitional experiences of yogins. Since all such phenomena are the reflections of the powers of the infinite consciousness, these must have an absolutely real existence in such consciousness. That is the assertion of Saiva monism.

The work in hand deals comprehensively with the historical development of the subject. It can satisfy the needs of such students of several Indian Universities who take up the subject at the level of M.A. examination in Sanskrit or Indian philosophy. The author intends to bring out some more works on the subject. The next work shall come out under the title "Specific Doctrines of Kashmir Saivism". It will throw light on such principles of Indian philosophy which have either not been touched at all or to

which due justice has not been done in other schools of thought. The third work shall be devoted to the comparative study of Kashmir Saivism and the fourth one to its typical Kashmirian origin and character. Some very important chapters of the previous work, 'Aspects of Kashmir Saivism', shall have to be incorporated in the work No. 3 in the group, because that work would remain incomplete without such incorporation. These four works on Kashmir Saivism shall cover nearly every important topic that a curious scholar would like to know about the history and the philosophy of Kashmir Saivism. A few chapters in these works shall discuss the practical aspect of the theology and ritual of the Trika system, but a comprehensive work on such aspect of Saiva monism shall remain yet to be written in English. The author has an intension to write one more book on some critical problems not discussed in the four books mentioned above. But even after that a fully detailed work on the theology and ritual of Kashmir Saivism shall remain to be written. It shall be a colossal work demanding sufficient time and labour. Lord Siva alone knows as to who will be fortunate to write such a work and when would it appear in print.

Many wrong conceptions, set afloat by certain great resaeurch scholars of the present age, require immediate correction. For instance (i) *Agama*, *Spanda* and *Pratyabhijna* are being taken as three sub-schools of Kashmir Saivism, which is not correct. *Spanda* is that intrinsic character of the absolute reality, the self of every being, which is to be realized by an aspirant by the means of *Pratyabhijna* or self-recognition to be brought about through yogic practices prescribed in accordance with *Agamas*, the scriptural works on Saivism. Different sets of texts deal with them without ptesenting any mutual disagreement on any principles or doctrines. These are thus the essential and integral elements of one and the same school of thought.

(ii) *Kula*, *Trika* and *Krama* are being correlated with the so called three 'sub schools' of Kashmir Saivism. *Kula* and *Trika* are, no doubt, two different systems of practice prescribed in Saivism, but neither of them can be strictly bound to any of such 'sub-schools'. As for *Krama*, it is not

at all any independent system of practical Saivism, but is an integral part and parcel of both Trika and Kula systems. It is a method that forms an essential element in the practice of the *Saktopaya* of the Trika system (T.A. IV 122 to 179; T.S. pp. 28 to 30). Twelve *Kalis* of the *Krama* method are included even in the practice of *Sambhavopaya* of that system (T.A. III 249 to 254). These have been discussed as playing a prominent role in the *Dhyanayoga* of the *Anavopaya* of the Trika system (T.A. V - 21 to 27) as well as in the practice of *Cakrodaya* (T.A. VII). *Krama*, being thus an integral item of Trika system, has not been counted as an independent system in any of the scriptural passages dealing with the topic concerned (T.A.V. vol. I, pp. 48, 49 and P. Tr. V. p. 92).

(iii) The easy new path of Kashmir Saivism is the path of *Trika yoga* assisted by *bhakti* and correct understanding. It is not the path of mere intellectual knowledge, as understood by many scholars. Being free from physical torture, starvation of senses and suppression of emotions, it is far easier than several ancient Brahmanic and monkish paths of practice.

(iv) Utpaladeva was neither a son of Somananda, nor the father of Lakṣmanagupta, as is being understood by scholars. Such description of their relation is based merely on *Putrakadikra*, a ritual rite that raises a disciple to the position of a son.

(v) Kṣemaraja, a disciple of Abhinavagupta, was a person different from Kṣemagupta, his cousin.

(vi) *Tantra-vata-dhanika* is the work of some Abhinavagupta-viśeṣa, most probably one of the cousins of the great teacher.

(vii) *Paratrisika-laghu-vṛtti* is not the work of Abhinavagupta. Some later scholar composed it and ascribed it to the great teacher, just to raise its status.

(viii) Kashmir Saivism is not a Saivite variety of Advaita Vedānta, as believed by some scholars because:

(1) It is cent per cent Agamic in its character. (2) It refutes the *Vivarta* theory of Advaita Vedānta. (3) It accepts *Māyā* as the divine power and the intrinsic character of Brahman, but not at all as His *upādhi*. (4) The elaborate

system of Saivite *sadhana* is not known to Sankarites even now. (5) Most of the Saiva teachers were house holders and not monks. (6) Saivism accepts both, enjoyment and liberation, as its fruits and as essential aims of life. (7) It takes suppression of emotions and instincts as harmful and recommends, in stead, their gradual sublimation. (8) Taking a pragmatic view of life, Saivism does not adopt any negative attitude towards world. (9) It takes *Advaita Vedanta* as a theory that comes very close to Buddhist nihilism. (10) Important authors of Kashmir Saivism do neither refer to any teachers of Advaita Vedanta nor quote passages from their works. (11) *Sankaradigvijaya*, being mere poetry based much more on fiction than on facts, is not at all dependable. *Sankaravijaya* of Anantananda-giri is sufficiently dependable. (12) The account of Sankara's Kashmir visit is therefore highly doubtful. (13) As authenticated by an ancient grave-inscription, the present day Sankaracharya temple at Srinagar did not bear such name before the Dogara rule in Kashmir. (14) There was no trace of the *Sannyasa* system of Sankaracharya in Kashmir before the rule of Dogara kings. (15) Most of the ancient Kashmirian Vedantins adhered to Vaisnavite theism and not to *Vivartism* of Sankaracharya.

(ix) Some technical terms of *Advaita Vedanta* and *Saivasiddhanta* are wrongly being used as synonyms of some parallel terms of Kashmir Saivism, resulting in confusion.

(x) Neo-Saivism of Acharya Amrta-vagbhava is not at all being taken notice of by such modern scholars.

CHAPTER I

The Saivism of Kashmir

Though basically pre-Aryan and pre-Vedic in its origin, Saivism crept by stages into the Vedic religion and became one of the most vital elements of Hinduism by the age of Epics and Puranas.

Though the Vedic rituals of the ancient Hindus of Kashmir had been predominantly Vaisnavite in character, the worship of Siva and Sakti also had become very popular in this land right from the prehistoric ages. There is even now a good number of prehistoric Saiva shrines in Kashmir, for instance, *AmareSvara*, *Vijayesvara*, *Suresvara*, *Harsesvara*, *Mahadeva*, *Bhutesvara*, *Haramukhesvara*, etc. Saivism has always and everywhere been Saktic in character. Therefore there are many prehistoric shrines dedicated to Sakti, the Universal Mother Goddess. The most important among these are: *Trlpurasundari* in Kulgam, *Trisandhya* in Anantnag, *Jvala-mukti* in Tral; *Sarika* at Srinagar, *Sarada* in Teetwal, *Rajni* in Ganderbal, *Sailaputri* at Baramulla and so on.

It appears that ancient Naga tribes may have inhabited the borders of the valley when it was a lake. Later, when it was cleared of water by Kasyapa and was colonized by Indo-Aryans under his leadership, hordes of *Pisaca* and *Darda* tribes, belonging to some less civilized and partly barbaric Aryan stock, invaded the valley from the north. The *Naga* leaders mediated between the Indo-Aryan settlers and these *Pisaca* invaders and both the tribes came to terms and settled in the valley. This is the historical conclusion that can be drawn from the accounts of ancient Kashmir as given in the

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Nilamata Purana. Those Nagas may have, most probably, been Saivas by faith and their influence on these settlers in Kashmir may have been one of the chief causes of the predominance of the worship of Siva and Sakti in Kashmir in the most ancient times. The dominating popularity of Siva and Sakti can have been imported to ancient Kashmir by *Khashas* of Kishtawar and Chamba who must have colonized the valley and who can have given it the name "Khashameru" which can have changed into the word Kashmir.

The religious beliefs of that most ancient Saivism are mostly mythological in character. Siva is the greatest of all gods and his abode is a superior heaven called *Sivaloka*. He, however, resides along with his spouse, Parvati, on the Kailasa also. He is present at all the sacred places dedicated to him and is always ready to help his devotees in all respects at all places. He grants them boons for worldly and heavenly attainments and exercises his grace on them to liberate them from thier ignorance and consequent transmigration. When liberated, they get access to his divine abode and enjoy an eternal bliss in his constant vicinity. *Parvati* is his constant companion and is always worshipped with him. *Bhairavas* and *Ganas* are his divine assistants and are often worshipped on important festivals like *Sivaratri*. The modes of worship are generally the same as those of all other types of idol worship, the only main difference being in the sacrificial offerings. Preparations of *bhang*, meat, fish, etc., and even wine are very often offered to these *Bhatravas* and sometimes to Siva and ParavatI also. Beasts are sometimes sacrificed to them. This ancient Saivism in Kashmir is nearly the same as that prevalent in all other parts of India.

The Saivism for which Kashmir is spacially famous is the monistic Saiva philosophy of the Tryambaka school and that philosophy is the most valuable contribution of Kashmir to Indian culture. That philosophy had basically originated in some trans-Himalayan area near Kailasa in about the 4th. century, A.D. Its advent to Kashmir took place in the 8th. century and it developed fully in the next two centuries in that very land.

The most ancient school of Saivism is *Pasupatlsm* which rose out of the beliefs of the Indus Valley people and spread in course of time as a discipline of some orders of Saiva monks in the whole country in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is a pluralistic school of thought believing in a mutually distinct existence of God, soul and matter. Its practice consists of a very austere and severe discipline inviting public contempt. *Kapalikas* living in cremation grounds are an advanced type of Pasupatas. Their discipline, in the words of Abhinavagupta, is full of torturing practices:

“दक्षिणं रौद्रकर्माढ्यम् ।”

Daksinam raudrakarmadhyam. (T.A. 37-27)

Saivasiddhanta, a popular faith in Tamil Nadu, claims prehistoric origin in some ancient agamas named "*Nanmurai*" which, according to tradition, were swallowed up by the ocean in a flood, along with the sages who possessed them and the mountain peaks where they lived. Another tradition maintains that some saints of a Saiva school established at *Mantra Kalesvara* temple on Godavari, by some teachers in the lines of Amardaka and others were invited to far South by a Chola king named Rajendra, and they preached there the *Saivasiddhanta*. The third and the more authentic source of the Siddhanta sect lies in some Sanskrit Saiva *agamas* belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era. The fundamental theory of *Saivasiddhanta* is a kind of dualism, or rather pluralism. Though Yoga and *Jnana* have been accepted in it as the highest means of liberation, yet more importance has been given in actual practice to devotional and ritualistic worship of Siva in temples. *Saivasiddhanta* is, in the opinion of Abhinavagupta, overburdened with ritual:

“सिद्धान्ते कर्म बहुलम् ।”

"Siddhante Karmabahulam" (T.A. 37-27)

Another sect of Saivism, which also is a popular faith of masses, is the *Vira-saivism* of Karnataka. Though a special type of qualified monism, it lays greater stress on unity and

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terms its theory as *Samarasyavada*. The sect developed in its present form in the twelfth century, but the tradition of its practice is sufficiently ancient. It must have existed as a special system of discipline among some ancient orders of Saiva monks. It also is sufficiently ritualistic in character in its practice. The Vedantic Saivism of Srīkantha professes to teach a monistic theory of transformation (*Abhedaparinama-vada*) which maintains that the divine power of God gets transformed into the phenomenal existence. It resembles *visistadvaita* of Ramanuja.

Kashmir Saivism is a philosophy which is quite different in many respects from all these schools of the Saivism of the South. It adopts a pragmatic approach towards all the problems of philosophy on both its sides of theory and practice.

It is neither rigidly idealistic like the Advaita Vedanta and Buddhism, nor so realistic as the Nyaya-Vaisesika or Samkhya. The universe, according to it, is neither like a mirage, nor like the child of a barren woman. It is a reality for all practical purposes. But it is not an absolute reality, because it is a creation. It exists in the absolute reality in the form of pure, limitless and all containing consciousness. That consciousness, called *Parama-Siva*, is always vibrating inwardly and outwardly by its basic nature and its vibrative nature is called *Spanda*. *Spanda* is a sort of a stir of consciousness. The phenomenal universe, which exists in *Parama-Siva* in the form of pure consciousness, appears, by stages, in its phenomenal aspect in the manner of a reflection appearing in a mirror. A mirror bears the reflections of outward objects, but the mirror of pure consciousness bears the reflections of its own powers. Siva's powers to create, to preserve and to absorb the universe and also to conceal as well as to reveal His nature of absolute Godhead get manifested at His playful, independent and unrestrictible will and that will is the essence of His Godhead. Had He not possessed such nature, He would not have been God. He may have or may not have existed at all in that case, because His existence could neither have been challenged nor established by any one. Universe is nothing but an objective manifestation of His divine powers. He is a reality

and His powers are His essence. Therefore His powers are also a reality and so are the manifestations of those powers a reality. He consists of an ever-pure and limitless consciousness which is full upto brim with Godly powers and does not undergo any change even while the activities of creation, etc. are going on. This is His static aspect in which he is called Siva. The aspect of the manifestations of His Godhead is called His Sakti. Both are merely two aspects of one and the same absolute, all powerful and independent reality. This interpretation of the Hindu monism is the new thought contributed to Indian Philosophy by the Saiva philosophers of Kashmir. It can be termed as Hindu pantheism, through it is much different from the pantheism of the Western and the Vaisnavite thinkers; because Siva in it is an absolute and abstract reality, rather than a personal God and can be realised in His highest aspect as the pure and potent consciousness transcending all phenomena of gross and subtle character.

Kashmir Saivism accepts no restrictions based on caste, creed, sex, etc. Every curious and devout aspirant can have access to it both theoretically and practically. It gives more importance to practice than to bookish knowledge and logical discussions. In its theory it comes closer to the theism of *Bhagavadgita* and not to the nihilism of *Nagarjuna*. In practice it does not prescribe the 'profession' of monks but advises to live the life of a householder and to practise, side by side, Saiva yoga for the sake of self-realisation. It does not advocate *sannyasahood*. It prohibits the use of all sorts of saintly symbols like red or white robes, matted hair, ashes, etc. It avoids suppression of one's emotions and instincts and advocates a path of their sublimation. It does not ignore the worldly and heavenly aims of life consisting of objective enjoyments. It rather advocates a path aimed at both *bhukti* (enjoyment) and *muktt* (liberation), both of which can be pursued side by side. It lays emphasis on devotion and that makes its practice quite sweet and practicable. It is, in this way, quite pragmatic in its approach towards its practice also.

These Saiva philosophers did not at all try to disturb the age old religion of the masses. They advocated the practice

of the then established Brahmanic Hinduism based on Vedas, *Smrtis* and tradition. They also advocated the practice of Siva worship in temples, at sacred places and in homes. In addition to these outward aspects of religion, they preached the practice of Siva-yoga in accordance with the *Trika* and *Kula* systems of Tantric practice. The *Kula* system advocates the use of five *makaras* prevalent in the Tantric sects of the left hand systems. It can be practised only by some heroic practitioners capable to keep their minds constantly concentrated on the mystic formulae and also on the deity worshipped by means of such offerings and services sweet to senses.

One has to keep his mind concentrated in meditation while enjoying outwardly all such means of sense pleasure. Indulgence in all such sensual activities is not to be allowed to disturb the meditation of an aspirant. Initiation in this path is therefore granted only to such persons who can easily and spontaneously control their mind and senses. When an aspirant can succeed thoroughly in controlling the effects of such powerful objects and means of sense pleasure and in keeping his mind immersed in meditation while indulging in their use, he can afterwards attain such a psychological state in which he can constantly enjoy the divine bliss of his unity with *Parama-Siva* even while doing all the wordly activities. He shall not then require any formal practice in a secluded place under any special discipline for that purpose. An aspirant gets access to the limitless and divine self-bliss through the path of worldly enjoyment by the means of such Tantric practice.

Trika system has been much more prevalent among the Saivas of Kashmir. The use of *makaras* is neither essentially prescribed nor totally prohibited in that system of practice. When everything is in fact the Lord Himself, what to prescribe and what to prohibit? One may make use of an object of sense pleasure or may not use it. It does not make much difference to a follower of *Trika* system of practice. He has to carry on his wordly activities and has to practise, side by side, a yoga in which mind is to be withdrawn from objective activities of all ideation and forming of conceptions. It is to be kept absolutely still like the flame of a lamp at a place where

wind does not blow. Withdrawn from all objective activities, it turns towards the subject, that is, the real self and gets merged into it by stages. Such merger results in an intuitive realization of the real self which is nothing else but *Parama-Siva* Himself. This is the *Sambhavopaya* of *Trika* system and is known as *Ichha-yoga*. It should not however be confused either with Zen-yoga of Japanese Buddhism or with the yoga of MaheSa yogin, both of which can lead only to a dreamless state and can not reveal one's divine nature.

One who is not efficient enough to practise this yoga has to perform a practice in impressing on his mind that he is in fact *Parama-Siva*; every thing is he himself; he is in every thing and every thing is in him; all this is the manifestation of his own powers, and so on. This is the *Sakta-upaya* of *Trika* system and is known as *Jnana-yoga*. When an aspirant succeeds in the practice of this yoga, he becomes fit for the practice of *Sambhava-yoga*.

An aspirant, not quite fit for the direct practice of this *Sakta-yoga*, has to perform its practice with the help of certain objective elements like his understanding sense, the functions of his life-force, his breath and its movement, his physical body with its nerve-centres, outward objects consisting of sounds and substances and soon. He has to concentrate his mind on an objective element and has to see it as the divine Absolute with the help of a contemplative meditation. Then he has to see a unity between the object, the Absolute and his own self. Through such a practice he becomes merged into the absolute reality and feels himself to be the Absolute for the time being. That is the *Anava-upaya* of the *Trika* system and is known as *Kriya-yoga*. When a practitioner succeeds in its practice he becomes fit for taking up the *Sakta-yoga*.

The elements of objective meditation and mental activity attain prominence in *Anava-yoga*. That Yoga consists of objective meditation and *Sakta-yoga* consists of subjective contemplation. The element of knowing becomes more prominent in *Sakta-yoga*, because it consists of practices in imagining and in forming correct conceptions of the exact reality. *Sambhava-yoga* is free from all imaginations, con-

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ceptions, contemplations and concentrations. Both the elements of mental doing and knowing are pushed to the background in its practice and the element of will to shine in one's pure being attains prominence in it. When such *Ichha-yoga* becomes perfect, the aspirant starts to have direct self-realisation without any practice of even the exercising of his will. *Siva-yoga* at such stage is known as *Ananda-yoga* or *Anupaya-yoga*, that is, the Yoga without any means. That is the highest stage of the Saiva-yoga of the *Trika* system of *Sadhana*.

CHAPTER II

Scriptural Works

Most of the schools of Hindu philosophy are based on two-fold foundations of logical reasoning and scriptural authority. While the six *darsanas* of Brahmanism draw inspirations from Vedic scriptures like Upanisads, the schools of Saivism take them from Saiva Agamas. Though sufficient similarities in philosophic views are found between these two sets of scriptures, yet their general character, outlook on life and its problems, as well as on the discipline in theology are mutually different. Kashmir Saivism, propounding a monistic but theistic absolutism as its essentially fundamental principle of philosophy, comes very close to Upanisadic monism. But it is still essentially Agamic, rather than Vedic, in its character and outlook. It accepts the authority of Vedas in the social aspect of society, but prefers Agamic paths for the sake of quick spiritual progress. Its special principles and doctrines of philosophy and theology are essentially based on the teachings of Saiva Agamas.

Saiva Agamas have been analysed in Kashmir Saivism into three groups leading aspirants respectively to the spiritual planes of dualism, mono-dualism and pure monism. Twenty-eight main Agamas of Saivism are known in the South. These are classified into two groups of ten and eighteen called respectively as *Siva-agamas* and *Rudra-agamas*. The teachers of *Saiva-Siddhanta* take them as having been uttered respectively by Siva in the form of five-faced Svachchandanatha and human saints who had attained perfect purity and had realised themselves as constant companions of Lord Siva, through his wor-

ship by means of *carya* (service), *kriya* (formal worship), yoga (meditation) and Jnana (knowledge). But Kashmir Saivism recognises them as scriptures aiming at and leading to dualism and mono-dualism attainable in the states of *Salokya* and *Sayujya* respectively. These scriptures, in the view of Kashmir Saivism, were uttered by Sivas and Rudras stationed respectively at the planes of dualism and monodualism.

Kashmir Saivism recognizes one more group of Agamas which is superior to both the groups mentioned above. It is the group of *Bhairava Agamas*. Bhairavas are divine beings stationed at the plane of monism. They see through a monistic view point and adopt it to their teachings as well. Such Agamas are sixty-four in number and are divided into eight groups of eight each. Lists of all such Agamas of three categories were given in a scriptural work named *Srikanthi Samhita*. That work is not available now, but its concerned passages have been preserved by Jayaratha by quoting them in his commentary on *Tantraloka* of Abhinavagupta. Such Bhairava Agamas are very little known in the South, but ancient practitioners of Saiva yoga knew them as Sankaracharya refers to sixty-four tantras of Siva in his *Saundarya-lahari*. There was yet one more group of Saiva scriptures which was recognized as higher in merit even to the sixty four *Bhairava-Agamas*. Such Agamas were six in number and those were *Saura*, *Bhargava'sikha* etc. These six also formed two groups of three each and the group higher in merit is known as the group of *Trika*, the trinity of divine scriptures. It has been recognized as the highest one in authority and merit. Consisting of the half of the six, it is known as *Sadardha-Sastra*, as well. The authority of these Trika Agamas, in both the theory and the practice of Saivism, is the highest in the views of the monistic Saivas of Kashmir. Many of the practical doctrines of Kashmir Saivism have been drawn not only from Bhairava Agamas but also from those of the other two groups and passages from them have been quoted in *Tantraloka* of Abhinavagupta. Somananda also quotes them and mentions the names of their teachers in his *Sivadrsti*. There is thus no hard and fast division between such groups of Saiva Agamas. Authors of Kashmir Saivism have occasionally quoted some

passages of Upanisads, Bhagavadgita and other such religio-philosophic works as well. That shows the breadth of their vision. They followed and accepted *the* acceptable views of all other schools of religion and philosophy, not excluding even Buddhism. But even then they proclaimed that the path prescribed in the Trika Agamas alone can lead aspirants to definitely higher planes in spiritual ascent. As for the different Sastras, they accept them as being correct up to certain levels in spiritual ascent and having basically been inspired by Siva Himself.

Three Agamas of the Trika section of the six supermost scriptures, as recorded by Jayaratha in his commentary on *Tantraloka*, are (i) *Siddha-Tantra*, (2) *Namaka-Tantra* and (3) *Malilni-Tantra*. The writer of these lines feels that the name of the second one may have been *Vamaka-Tantra* and the letter 'na' in the word may have crept into it through some scribal mistake because 'na' and 'va' can easily be mutually confused in *Sarada* script. Besides, scriptural works like *Vamakesvari-mata* were popularly known even upto the time of Jayaratha and Sitikantha. As stated by Jayaratha, *Vamaka* (Namaka) dealt with theoretical knowledge of Saiva monism, *Siddha Tantra* was devoted to the practical side of the subject and *Malini-Tantra* discussed both. Abhinavagupta attaches the highest importance to *Malini Tantra* and recognizes it as the highest one in the group of three.

Malini Tantra must have had two parts, the previous one and the final one. At present we have only the final one named *Malini-Vijayottara*. The word *Uttara* suggests that there *must have* been a *purva* part as well. Abhinavagupta recognizes the *Uttara* portion of the *Malini Tantra* as being the super-most authority on the theory and practice of Saiva monism. *Malini-Vijayottara* is highly mystic in its expression. It suggests the essence of many theories and practical doctrines of Kashmir Saivism in an absolutely brief and highly mystic style.

Its couplets can hardly be understood correctly without the help of *Tantraloka*. It deals very briefly with the highest and very fundamental principles of philosophy. The doctrines of *Sambhava* and *Sakta Yoga* have been discussed in it

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very briefly. Though the practices of *Anava Yoga* have been discussed in details yet the style of such discussion is so mystic that an ordinary reader can not make out anything from it. This Agama does not leave any stone unturned in the field of *Trikasadhana*. But all that can be understood with the help of *Tantraloka* and the commentary on it by Jayaratha who quotes the relevant passages from it in the concerned contexts. Abhinavagupta refers to one of his works named *Purva-Pancika*. It is felt that such work may have been written on that *purva* or previous portion of *Malini Tantra* which has been lost. The extensive *Malini Vijaya Vartika* by Abhinavagupta explains in detail the doctrines dealt with briefly and mystically in the *Malini Tantra*. He refers to such work as *Malini-Sloka-Vartika*. It is a highly wonderful work on Saivism, but requires a commentary, or at least some foot-notes for the sake of clarification of the topics taken up and ideas expressed.

Some other scriptural works are also available on the subject and those are listed below:

1. *Svacchanda-Tantra*: It is the only comprehensive and extensive scriptural work of high importance on Kashmir Saivism that is available even now. It bears a commentary by Ksemaraja and is available in print in seven volumes. It deals fully with many of the practices of objective meditation and works out all details about them. It is the only scriptural text which throws sufficient light on many topics of the ritual of Kashmir Saivism. Much of such material has been drawn by Abhinavagupta from it while composing the chapters on the ritual practices of Kashmir Saivism in his *Tantraloka* and Jayaratha goes on quoting passages from it while writing his commentary on them. A scriptural work under the name *Svacchanda* has been counted among the sixty-four *Bhairava-Agamas*. It is probable that it may be the same as this *Svacchanda-Tantra* which is a store-house of information regarding the details of the wonderful rituals of Trika system.

2. *Netra-Tantra* also bears a commentary by Ksemaraja. Its importance is greater in the field of the principles of theology than in those of ritual and philosophy.

3. *Vijnana-bhairava*, known also as *Sivopanisad*, is a smaller work dealing mainly with one hundred and twelve esoteric practices in Saiva yoga. Such practices, if grasped correctly and practised regularly, result in a quick realization of the exact nature of the real self. Besides, it throws light on some varieties of *Saktopdya* in addition to such one hundred and twelve practices. The light thrown by it on the nature of the basic mataphysical truth in its very beginning is indeed very wonderful. It bears a detailed commentary by Sivopadhyaya and another by some Bhatta Ananda. *Vijnanabhairava* is said to be a chapter of the voluminous *Rudrayamala* which also has been counted in the list of *Bairava Agamas*.

4. *Paratrisika* is likewise said to be a chapter of *Rudrayamala*. Scholars of the present age know that work by the name *Paratrim'sika* though Abhinavagupta has cleared such point beyond doubt in his extensive commentary named *Vivarana* on it. There he says in clear terms that the name of the work is *Trisika* and not *Trimsika*. He says further that it is called *Trimsaka* as well, but can not be called *Trimsika* at all. The *Vivarana* of Abhinavagupta on the *text* of *Paratrisika* raises this work to the rank of the foremost important works on the Trika system of Saivayoga. The language of the couplets of *Trisika* is very simple but the theological content expressed by them is very profound in nature and mysterious in character. The *Vivarana* of Abhinavagupta explains its secrets through a wonderful technique of finer and subtler philosophic thinking. Very few scholars can grasp its real purport. The difficulty in grasping it is augmented by defects in its editing. Its text is wrong at many places and punctuation is extremely deceptive. It requires badly a new and correct editing which has now been done by Prof. Gurtoo.

The basic work is known as *Anuttara Sutra* as well. The commentary on it discusses at length many profound principles of Saiva philosophy as well as some highly esoteric and mysterious doctrines of practice in *Sambhava-yoga*. It throws sufficient light on the theological background of the yoga practices in *Matrka* and *Malini* types of *Sambhavopaya* in sufficient detail. It contains extensive discussions on many subtle topics of philosophy and theology of Saiva monism and

the light thrown on them in it is highly remarkable. Only some such scholars and practitioners can grasp correctly the exact significance of the finer points of philosophy and theology explained by Abhinavagupta in that *Vivarana*, as are highly proficient in philosophic thinking and practice in Saiva Yoga. He says himself that only some rare persons among lacs of people may be able to make his efforts fruitful by understanding and practising the doctrines explained by him in it. Besides, he warns against deceitful teachers, pretending as masters of the subject, misleading simple people and making use of them like beasts to carry their heavy burdens and to serve them whole heartedly, and having already entrapped them by means of false propaganda.

Sivasutra: It is, like Malinivijaya, a scriptural work of the highest importance, though its composition does not follow the technique and the style of other Agamas which relate lengthy discourses between Siva and Sakti written in verse style, mostly in *Anustubh*, while Sivasutra is a brief work in Sutra form. It is available in three chapters. The first chapter throws lights on the metaphysics of Kashmir Saivism, Sambhava-Yoga and the spontaneous self-realization aimed at by such yoga, as well as the principles of bondage and liberation. The second chapter shows as to how the results of *Saktopaya* have a spontaneous rise in a yogin when the practice in *Samhavadopaya* becomes perfect. Some of such results have been described in it. Chapter III of *Sivasutra* deals with the lower type of results of that yoga, known as *Vibhutis* or *Siddhis* and describes at length the position of a *Jivanmukta*, an aspirant who, as a result of his success in Sambhava-yoga, becomes liberated even while living in a mortal form. That is how Bhatta Bhaskara has interpreted Sivasutra in his Vartika on it. The headings of the three chapters, as given in his commentary, are respectively *Citprakasasvarupa*, *Sahaja-vidyodaya* and *Vibhutis panda*. These agree with the headings of the three chapters of Spandakarika as given in its brief commentary by Bhatta Kallata himself. He names them as *Svarupa-spanda*, *Sahajavidyodaya* and *Vibhutispanda*. The *vartika* of Bhatta Bhaskara is based strictly on the traditional interpretation, come down to him through an unbroken line of

teachers, right from Vasugupta, the discoverer of *Sivasutra*.

Bhatta Kallata was a disciple of Vasugupta and belonged to the time of king Avantivarman to which time belonged Ramakantha also. They must have been thus younger contemporaries of Vasugupta. Bhatta Kallata says that Siva-Sutra was revealed to Vasugupta by Lord Siva who uttered it to him in a dream and that he collected the principle of Spanda from it.¹ Ramakantha says that the essence of the Spanda-principle was transmitted to Vasugupta by some Siddha through his speech.² *Siddhade'sa* is generally of two kinds. Some *siddha* appears before a person and tells him something or he appears in a dream and imparts some knowledge through his speech. The vision of Lord Siva, either in a waking state or in a dream, is also counted as the vision of a Siddha. Therefore the teachings of Siva at such occasions are also taken as *Siddhade'sa*. It is therefore a fact that Sivasutra was revealed by Siva to Vasugupta in a dream. A similar account has been given by Mahesvarananda with regard to his composing *Maharthamanjari*.³ Such Siddhadesas do happen with devotees and practitioners of yoga. Vasugupta must have been a Sivayogin belonging to the school of Tryambaka, established in Kashmir by Santgamaditya in the eighth century. His surname 'Gupta' indicates that he may have appeared in the family of the ancestors of Abhinavagupta who also had settled in Kashmir in the eighth century because that is the only family of Kashmirian scholars known under the surname Gupta. Vasugupta is accepted as a *Mathikaguru* of the Tryambaka's school of Saiva monism, transplanted by Samgamaditya in Kashmir. *Mathikagurus* were such teachers of the school of Tryambaka to whom divine scriptures were revealed by Lord Siva.

Ksemaraja, a disciple of Abhinavagupta, appeared in the eleventh century, that is, about after two hundred years from the discovery of *Sivasutra* by Vasugupta. He relates a story about it which says that Vasugupta was instructed by

1. Sp. Vr., p 40.

2. SPV., p.35.

3. M.M.P., pp.190-91.

Lord Siva in a dream to overturn a big rock in the foot of Mahadeva mountain by the mere touch of his hand and copy Sivasutras inscribed on its side lying clasped with the ground. He started pushing up such rocks and lo! one of them turned up erect with its bottom side facing Vasugupta. He found the inscriptions, copied them out and the rock came down again to its previous position.⁴ Lord Siva alone knows if such story is the actual history of Sivasutra or has developed on the basis of the imagination of some devotees of the Saiva philosophy. Such things have never been uncommon with Indian devotees. There is even now a rock near *Drapahom* which is called *Shenkarpal* or *Sankaropal*. God knows whether such name belonged to the rock right from the 9th century or was later given to it by devotees on the basis of the story related by Ksemaraja. No ancient writer has said anything about such story of *Sankropal*. *Sivasutra* bears three big commentaries and a brief one and those are:

1. *Sivasutra-Vartika* of Bhatta Bhaskara.
2. *Sivasutra-Vimarsini* of Ksemaraja.
3. *Sivasutra-Vartika* of Varadaraja.
4. The brief commentary is *Sivasutra-vrtti* which appears to be a gist of Ksemaraja's *Vimarsini*.
5. *Sivasutra Vartika* of Bhatta Bhaskara contains another *Vrtti* on it which is given there in the form of foot-notes, but is sufficiently helpful in understanding the sutras of Siva as well as the *Vartikas* of Bhaskara.

The writer of these lines has also prepared a commentary on *Sivasutra* under the title *Sivasutra-Vivrti*. It is composed in Sanskrit as well as in Hindi. It is going to be published very soon. An English translation of *Sivasutra* with explanatory notes etc. is also to be prepared in the near future by a student of the author of *Vivrti*.

CHAPTER III

Spandasastra of Bhatta Kallata

Bhatta Kallata is the most prominent of all the early authors of Kashmir Saivism. Kalhana praises him as a great *siddha* descended to the world for the uplift of people.¹ *Trika-agamas*, the scriptural works of the Saivism of Tryambaka's school, were revealed to its still earlier teachers. *Sivasutra*, a brief work in aphoristic style, is also counted among *agamas*. It was revealed to Vasugupta, a teacher of the school of Tryambaka who may have probably belonged to the family of Atrigupta. No other work from his pen has so far been discovered. Tradition ascribes to him the authorship of *Vasavi* commentary on Bhagavadgita. A manuscript in fragments, under the title *Vasavi*, was procured a few years back at Srinagar by the Research Department of Jammu and Kashmir State. It is now the property of Kashmir University. The writer of these lines has seen the manuscript, though not thoroughly. It agrees on many points with the Ramakantha's commentary on the Gita. But it contains the text of the Gita, quite in accordance with the southern recension and not the northern recension which was prevalent at that time in Kashmir. The southern recension, which has now become the standard text of the Gita throughout the whole world, was imported to Kashmir by Kashmirian Pandits who, having previously fled from the valley, were later recalled and rehabilitated there by a highly generous ruler named Zainulabadin in the later part of the fifteenth century. Therefore

1. R.T., V-66.

authenticity of the manuscript is yet to be established. It requires a research oriented thorough study which has not been done so far. If it may be the real *Vasavi*, then the text of the Gita must have been added to it by some copyist and the original manuscript may have contained the commentary alone, written chapterwise; otherwise it can be a forged *Vasavi* and may have been built by some later Pandit on the basis of Ramakantha's commentary. Vasugupta was doubtlessly a great yogin. He may have been so intensely interested in the practice of the blissful experience of self-realization through *Sambhava* yoga that he may not have cared to do any remarkable academic activity. He has been accepted as the originator of *Spanda-Sastra*. As noted by Bhatta Kallata, it is he who collected the nectar of Spanda philosophy of Saivism which was lying hidden in the ocean of *Slvasutra*.² The term 'spanda' is available neither in the main agamas of the Trika system nor in *Sivasutra*. It has been used for the first time in such sense in *Paras'ambhumahimnastava* by sage Durvasas and afterwards in the *Spanda-karika* of Bhatta Kallata. The term Spanda was adopted by Vasugupta and the philosophic principle denoted by it was also brought to light for the first time by him. He taught that principle under such term to his disciples and Bhatta Kallata among them built it as *Spanda-Sastra* in his *Spandakarika*, explained it in his *vrtti* called *Spanda-sarvasva* and analysed it further in his other works which have not come down to us. The words "*Spandamrtam drbdham*," used by him in *Spanda-sarvasva*, are meant to say that the Spanda philosophy was collected and knit together by Vasugupta. The root *drbhi* means "*grantha*" that is, to bind together or to knit together. It does not mean to write, as has been said by Dr. Pandey. A book is called a *grantha* because its leaves are bound together.

Bhatta Kallata, having become very prominent in the time of Avantivarman, flourished in the ninth century A.D. He was an elder contemporary of philosophers like Bhatta Pradyumna, Somananda, Utpaladeva and Ramakantha, all of whom flourished in the time of the same ruler of Kashmir.

Vasugupta may have been about twenty-five years elder to Bhatta Kallata. The Spanda principle appeared thus roughly in 825 A.D. and developed as Spanda-sastra in the form of Spandakarika near about 850 A.D. The *karika* was composed by Bhatta Kallata and not by Vasugupta himself, as said wrongly by Ksemaraja in the eleventh century. The most authentic and reliable evidence about such fact is that of Ramakantha who also belonged to the time of Avantivarman. While explaining the fifty second couplet of Spandakarika, he mentions Vasugupta as the preceptor of the author of the work in hand and not as its author. The author pays homage to the verbal teachings of his preceptor through that couplet and Ramakantha explains the word *gurubharatim* as the verbal teachings imparted by the preceptor Vasugupta. He writes thus:

गुरोर्वसुगुप्तामिधानस्य भारतीं वाचं स्तोमि ।

Guror Vasuguptabhidhanasya bharatim Vacam staumi.
(Sp. vi., p. 165)

He introduces the couplet through the words given below:

निजगुरुसरस्वतीस्तवनद्वारेणाह ..

Nija-guru-sarasvati-stavana-dvarenaha. (Ibid)

The couplet concerned is thus a part and parcel of Spandakarika and has been composed by the author of the Karika himself. It has not been added to it by any commentator. Other commentators like Utpala Vaisnava and even Ksemaraja himself accept it as a couplet of the Karika itself. The author of the Karika is thus the disciple of Vasugupta and not Vasugupta himself and such disciple is Bhatta Kallata.

Another reliable evidence to such fact is that of Bhatta Bhaskara who was the seventh teacher in the line of Vasugupta and to whom had come down the knowledge of both, the principles of Spanda-sastra and its history through an unbroken line of preceptors. He may be the same Bhaskara whose name has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta among

his teachers. He may have therefore belonged to the earlier part of the tenth century. He says in clearer terms that Bhatta Kallata explained the first three chapters of Sivasutra through his *Spanda-sutras* and discussed its fourth part through his *Tattvartha-cintamani*.³ Many couplets of Spandakarika are mentioned very often as Spanda-sutra. Even Ksemaraja mentions them like that.

The third reliable evidence is that of Utpala Vaisnava whose commentary on Spandakarika is the most scholarly one. He also preceded Abhinavagupta. Being a great scholar, knowing many sastras, quoting passages not only from Saiva works, but also from *Pancaratra samhitas* and many other sastras and supplying information on many other points like some other works of Bhatta Kallata, a work by Siddhanatha and so on, he would never have missed a great author like Abhinavagupta if he had succeeded him. He says in still clearer terms that Bhatta Kallata explained the philosophy of Spanda through his *anustubha* couplets numbering (round about) fifty.⁴ The fifty third couplet in the text followed by him says clearly that it was Bhatta Kallata who versified the mystic philosophy of Spanda after having learnt it from his preceptor Vasugupta⁵ who had realized it directly. By the word 'versified' (slokeyamasa) it is meant to say that Bhatta Kallata composed the verses of Spandakarika. Utpala mentions the name of Bhatta Kallata not less than eight times.

It appears from the views of Utpala Vaisnava that he was a Vaisnavite but had respect for Saivism. Passages quoted profusely by him from the *Pancaratra* texts have given him the name Vaisnava. It is just to differentiate him from the great Utpaladeva that scholars have added the word Vaisnava to his name. It is very remotely possible that he, having been an ardent Vaisnavite, may have afterwards switched over to Saivism by means of the performance of Saivite *diksa* assisted by the rite called *Lingodhara* which is a must in such cases as prescribed in *Tantrasara* (p. 170) and *Tantraloka* chapter 22

3. S.S.V., p. 3.

4. S. Pr., p. 1.

5. S. Pr. last page.

because he betrays his staunch faith in Pancaratra system and appears to be trying his best to elevate it to the level of spanda *iastra*.

Ksemaraja, appearing in the eleventh century, and belonging to the line of the disciples of Somananda, appears to have been highly prejudiced against Bhatta Kallata whom he mentions in singular⁶ number and whose views he criticises now and then, sometimes without naming him, though Abhinavagupta mentions his name with great respect as "Srimat-Kallatanathah."⁷ It is Ksemaraja who ascribed the authorship of Spandakarika to Vasugupta. In order to put weight to his opinion, he explained the word "gurubharati" as the great *Para-vani*. Such an explanation is highly far fetched in character.

It appears that a controversy about the authorship of *Spandakarika* had already risen some time before Ksemaraja started to write. It rose probably on the basis of academic jealousy between the later disciples in the lines of Bhatta Kallata and Somananda. It is on such account that the couplet No. 53 was added in two different versions to the Karika. One of the versions proclaims Bhatta Kallata as the versifier of the secrets of the philosophy of Spanda, meaning by that his authorship of the Karika. Such version of the couplet has been accepted and explained by Utpala Vaisnava. The other version indicates vaguely that the Karika was written by Vasugupta himself. Such version of it finds its place in the text explained by Ksemaraja. But the couplet No. 53 does neither exist in the Spanda-sarvasva of Bhatta Kallata, nor in the Spanda-vivrti of Ramakantha. That proves its later origin.

Ksemaraja was very intelligent and sufficiently well read. Since he was the only one among the disciples of Abhinavagupta who took sufficient interest in academic pursuits, he had become a bit over conscious about his ability. He was fond of confusing simple principles of philosophy by making them complex through his such expression and was keen to find

6. Sp. Ni. p. 54.

7 T.A., 29-123, 24.

out fresh interpretations of ancient texts like *Sivasutra*, *Spandakarika* etc. Abhinavagupta may have sensed such tendencies in him and that may have been the cause on account of which his name was not mentioned anywhere by the great teacher who mentions by names many of his favourite disciples in more than one of his works, especially in his *Tantraloka*. Besides, his account of the revelation of *Sivasutra* comes closer to mythology than to history. Therefore his views on the authorship of *Spandakarika* cannot be taken as correct and the views of the above mentioned three authors cannot be rejected as incorrect. The evidence of Ramakantha carries the heaviest weight because he, belonging to the time of Avantivarman, must have had frequent personal contacts with Bhatta Kallata and others.

Spanda, as discovered by Vasugupta, and as brought to light by Bhatta Kallata, is the blissful and spiritual conative stir of the absolute and divine consciousness and is vibratory in its character. Vibration in physics is a zigzag outward movement of the waves of some physical elements like light, sound etc. But *Spanda* is a double edged stir, throbbing outwardly and inwardly at one and the same moment. It is purely a spiritual stir and not any physical movement or mental restlessness. It can be explained as the extrovertive and introvertive divine volition of God. Had He not possessed such a vibratory nature, He alone would have existed for ever; there would not have been any creation, any dissolution, any phenomenal manifestation and anything that could have manifested His Godhead. The divine dramatic show of creation and dissolution, bondage and liberation etc. is manifested by Him in wonderfully different ways through the extrovertive and introvertive throbbing of His Spanda. Through the innermost inward aspect of such throbbing, He shines as the absolute and pure consciousness alone. His natural tendency towards the outward manifestation of His divine powers of Godhead is the result of its outward throbbing. God cannot be taken to be quite identical with Spanda which has a rise and a fall in Him. It is not quite identical with His Sakti which is the basic source of its constant rise and fall. It is thus the important nature and result of the Sakti of

God. Since Sakti or Godhead is the essential nature of God, He cannot be visualized as being devoid of Spanda, but can be realized as the perfect embodiment of Spanda in its two aspects of extroversion and introversion, resulting in the manifestation of creation and dissolution.

Since God shines Himself in the form of each and every soul, every living being has Spanda as his essential nature. Everyone is always aware of his own self as "I." That is due to the inward vibration of Spanda in him. Each living being is always prone to know and to do something and that is the result of the outward flutter of Spanda. In its pure spiritual aspect it can be easily experienced by a being if he puts in action his finer and sharpened attention and tries to discover through it the inner source of all his psychic and physical activities, all of which are phenomenal manifestations of Spanda which shines in them but is not generally realized like that. Such an exploration of the finer nature of Spanda becomes easily possible on the occasion of a higher pitch of an emotion like joy, terror, anger, astonishment etc.⁸ The purer and the divine aspect of Spanda shines for a moment in such situations; but its duration is so short that one cannot catch hold of it. Our power of attentive awareness is not generally so quick as to catch it. It can be done easily by yogins practising the Saiva yoga of the Trika system. Such yogins alone can teach the way of catching it. No logical thinking and reasoning can be of any avail in such matter. Spandakarika of Bhatta Kallata can therefore be much more useful to an adept practitioner of Saiva yoga than to an academician or a logical thinker. It is on account of such mystic character of Spanda-sāstra that all works other than the Karika, (alongwith a few commentaries) have been lost. Only their names are known from references to them in the works of later authors. One of such works is *visvasamhita* which appears to be a versified commentary of Spandakarika. (Sp. Pr., p. 41). Passages from some work of the same character have been quoted in *Spandapradipika*, pp. 30 and 42.

*Tattvavicara*⁹ was a work by Bhatta Kallata which has been lost and is known only through a reference in *Spanda-pradipika* of Utpala Vaisnava who refers to the *Tattvarthacintamani*¹⁰ of Bhatta Kallata and quotes a lengthy passage from it.¹¹ That work has been mentioned by Bhatta Bhaskara as well. He says that Sivasutra contained four chapters, three of which were explained by Bhatta Kallata through his Spanda sutra (that is, Spandakarika) and the fourth one through his *Tattvarthacintamani*.¹² Abhinavagupta says that Bhatta Kallata composed *Madhuvahini* and *Tattvarthacintamani*¹³ as two commentaries on Sivasutra. Ksemaraja quotes some aphoristic passages from *Tattvarthacintamani*. It appears to the writer of these lines that such passages may have been the original *sutras* contained in the fourth chapter of *Sivasutra*. All such works of Bhatta Kallata must have dealt with some very esoteric doctrines of Saiva yoga and must have been highly mystic in style and that may have been the cause of their loss, because very few adept aspirants alone may have become interested in them. A quotation from some work of Bhatta Kallata describes the qualities of *duti*,¹⁴ a female assistant who helps a preceptor of Kaulism in the transmission of the knowledge of the absolute theistic monism of Saiva philosophy to his disciples. That shows Bhatta Kallata to have been a preceptor of the Kula system and an author of some work on it as well. Such things suggest further the esoteric character of his works. His other works mentioned and quoted by Utpala Vaisnava are (i) *Sva-svabhava-sambodhana* (Sp. Pr., pp. 7, 8), and (ii) some work in Kashmiri apabhramsa language (*Ibid*, p. 23).

Spanda and Pratyabhijna are being counted as two different schools of Saivism, but in fact there is no mutual disagreement between their principles and doctrines, the only difference being in the topics discussed. Pratyabhijna section

9. S. Pr., pp. 9, 38.

10. *Ibid*, p. 30.

11. *Ibid*.

12. S.S.V., p. 3.

13. I. Pr.V.V., Vol II, p. 30.

14. T.A., 29 - 123, 124.

deals mainly with the logical theories of Saivism and the Spanda section takes up the practical yoga and its results as the subject matter to be dealt with. Abhinavagupta quotes profusely from Spandakarika while explaining the *Agamadhi-kara Isvarapratyabhijna vivrti*. It was Shri J.C. Chatterjee who committed such mistake of counting them as two different schools of Kashmir Saivism and scholars are still following him in such matters. A person, who attains self-recognition or *pratyabhijna*, discovers *Spanda* as his basic nature. *Agamasastra* is the source of both the Spanda and Pratyabhijna sections of Kashmir Saivism, because both of them derive their doctrines from Agamas. *Agama-Sastra* is thus a special section of the literature on Kashmir Saivism.

Neither *Pratyabhijna-sastra* nor *Agama-sastra* can ignore the principle of Spanda, because the stir of Spanda is the most fundamental principle of practical Saivism. It is one of the most important principles of its theory as well and the credit for its popularization goes to Bhatta Kallata who developed it and taught it to his disciples in many of its aspects. He is thus the builder of the *Spanda-sastra*.

CHAPTER IV

Somananda and His Sivadrsti

Divinely beautiful land of Kashmir has been attracting visitors and settlers from the very ancient times. The efficient, just and generous administration established by great Karkota emperors in the beginning of the eighth century A.D., provided a greater charm to many families of scholars who came and settled here permanently in that golden age of this land. It was most probably that period when Sangamaditya, the fourth ancestor of Somananda, visited the valley while on a pilgrimage and made this country his permanent home.

Sangamaditya was, according to the statement of Somananda, the sixteenth presiding teacher of the monistic school of Saiva philosophy established by Tryambakaditya I, the chief disciple of the famous Saiva sage Durvasas. He lived previously in a cave somewhere near the Kailasa mountain in the trans-Himalayan areas of greater India. That school of monistic Saivism, known as the school of Tryambaka, was successively presided over by fourteen saints who lived an ever celibate life and all of whom bore the same name Tryambakaditya. The fifteenth Tryambakaditya, however, changed the tradition of life-long celibacy and married a Brahmin girl according to Brahmanic rites, rituals, traditions and ideals. She gave birth to Sangamaditya who became later the sixteenth presiding preceptor of the school of Tryambaka and who was a Brahmana both by birth and education. The school came to be known as *Teramba* in the ancient

Kashmiri language. We can find in Kashmir, even now, persons with the word "*Tryambi*" as their surname.¹

Sangamaditya was succeeded by his son Varsaditya and he, in turn, by his son Arunaditya, the father and preceptor of Ananda. Somananda was the son and the chief disciple of Ananda and became, on his turn, the twentieth presiding teacher in the line. This account of his ancestry has been given by Somananda himself in the last chapter of his *Sivadrsti*.

Somananda, the author of the first philosophic treatise on the monistic Saivism of Tryambaka, lived in the ninth century A.D. He was a younger contemporary of Bhatta Kallata who lived in Kashmir in the reign of king Avantivarman because he refers to the views of Bhatta Pradyumna, a cousin of the latter.² His chief disciple was Utpaladeva who commented on *Sivadrsti* and writing several other works on Saivism, carried further the development of the literature of the school. Great philosophers like Abhinavagupta appeared later in the line of his disciples.

Nothing is known with certainty about the exact place where Somananda lived in the valley, but, most probably, he might have been a resident of Srinagar proper where most of the later philosophers of the school lived. Sitikantha, an author belonging to the fifteenth century, says that he belonged to the family of some Soma who was a great saint, capable to exercise both grace and wrath, and who lived at Padmapura, the modern Pampur. If that Soma is taken to be Somananda, then the place of his residence can definitely be fixed at Pampur. Sitikantha refers thus to Soma in his commentary on the *Balabodhini* of Jagaddhara Bhatta.

There is a reference in the *Rajatarangini* about the shrine 'Somesvara', having been established by Somananda in the outskirts of the city. Most of the Saiva philosophers of Kashmir were, like ancient Vedic Rsis, householders following Brahmanic ideals. Somananda also was a householder like his five immediate forefathers. His achievements in the practice of Saiva yoga of the Trika and Kula systems were immen-

1. S.D. VII, 109 to 121.

2. S.D. III, 1. 9.

sely great, as he has been very highly praised on that account by great philosophers like Abhinavagupta.

Many esoteric principles of theory and practice of the monistic Saivism were revealed to many teachers of the school of Tryambaka after it got established in Kashmir. Those principles were written down by them in the form of Saiva Agamas like *Malini-Vjaya*, *Siddha*, *Netra*, *Bhargasikha*, etc. These Agamas, like all other Tantric scriptures, are dialogues on higher principles regarding the origin, the nature and the aims of human life and also the means to achieve those aims. Dialogue is after all a dialogue and is not a treatise. When people talk, they do not generally talk strictly on one and the same topic and do not often deal systematically with topics talked over. They do not strictly follow the technique laid down by logicians for the sake of philosophic writings. So it is but natural that principles of philosophy lie scattered in scriptures in a haphazard manner, just as precious herbs lie scattered and hidden in a forest full of uncountable types of vegetation. A curious person has to attain a philosophic insight by means of higher religious practices and has to dive deep into the oceans of scriptures to find out the exact principles of a philosophy. Then he has to develop a correct and exact mental understanding of them and also a high proficiency in the art of expression of subtler realities. Then and then alone can he become an exact and efficient teacher or author of a philosophy.

Tryambaka's school of Saivism was fortunate enough to get a chain of such saintly and scholarly philosophers of great merit, possessing highly advanced achievements in the practice of religion and philosophy, on the one hand, and of highly developed faculties of head and heart, on the other hand. This school of thought developed and progressed regularly after its transplantation in the valley of Kashmir. The valley, which was always rich in the beauties of nature, showed once again that its soil was so fertile for the growth of a beautiful philosophy. Nearly all the important divine scriptures and philosophic treatises as well as the manuals of practice of the school of Tryambaka were composed in the valley of Kashmir and an unbroken tradition of teaching and learning

of the philosophy of the school got well established in this very land. It is for these reasons that this school has come to be known as the school of Kashmir Saivism. Great authors of philosophic works started to appear in Kashmir from the ninth century A.D. and the foremost ones among them were Bhatta Kallata and Somananda, the authors of *Spandakarika* and *Sivadrsti*, the latter being the first detailed philosophic treatise composed on the subject of Kashmir Saivism in a logical style.

Sivadrsti is divided into seven chapters. Its first chapter deals with the metaphysics and ontology of Kashmir Saivism. It describes the essential nature of *Paramasiva*, the eternally existent absolute reality. Then it traces the origin of the whole phenomenon in that ultimate reality. It also describes the process of the creation of the universe, along with its important elements, out of that fundamental reality. The theory of *Vivarta*, (mere appearance based on ignorance), as taught in the philosophy of Samskrt grammar by scholars like Bhartrhari, has been thoroughly criticised logically and psychologically in the second chapter of *Sivadrsti*. The *Sabda Brahman*, the *Pasyanti* and *Para* types of speech also have been discussed well in that chapter. The beginninglessness and the inexplicability of *Avidya*, the basic ignorance on which is based the theory of *Vivarta*, have also been criticised there. The whole criticism of the *Vivarta* theory of the grammarians can hold good as a criticism of the *Vivarta* theory of the Vedanta of Sankara as well.

The third chapter begins with the criticism of the approach to the ultimate reality as adopted by some, so called, Saktas and establishes an identity and a unity between Saktism and Saivism. All possible objections that can be raised by curious readers against the principle of Saiva monism, have been discussed in detail and have then been criticised and refuted, one by one, through sound logical arguments in the same chapter. The absolutely monistic and eternal existence of the basic reality, on the one hand, and the constant flow of this phenomenal diversity as a cosmos, on the other hand, have also been, side by side, explained and reconciled well in the same chapter. The consistency of the monistic unity of the

Lord in all the playful divine activities has been thoroughly discussed through logically sound arguments in the fourth chapter of *Sivadrsti*. The fifth chapter of this work is devoted to the refutation of all logical defects, that could be pointed out by antagonists like Vijñanavadins, with respect to the principle of Saiva monism. The exact nature of that monism, termed by later teachers as Paradvaita, which differs from that of the Advaita Vedanta, has also been described towards the close of that chapter. The fundamental principles of all other schools and sub-schools of Indian philosophy have been discussed, examined and criticised in the sixth chapter. The seventh chapter deals with the practical side of Kashmir Saivism. Several types of meditation, that can lead to the achievement of worldly and spiritual aims of human life, have been described in that chapter which closes with the narration of the history of the origin and the transmission of Kashmir Saivism and, side by side, with a brief history of the family of the author.

Sivadrsti bears a brief commentary by Utpaladeva. But, unfortunately, the commentary from the middle of the fourth chapter has been lost and the work beyond that point has, consequently, become more or less unintelligible. Abhinavagupta's *Alocana* on *Sivadrsti* has also been lost. Somananda had composed a commentary on *Paratrisika* - a Tantric text dealing with some of the highest types of practices in Saiva yoga. That commentary is not available at present, but has been quoted at several places by Abhinavagupta in his own commentary on that work.

Sivadrsti reveals that Somananda must have had sufficient experience in the direct realization of the highest and the finest nature of the ultimate reality. Somananda's extremely sharp intelligence, his wonderful powers of minute thinking and exact understanding of occult truths, his highly developed capacity to express in clear terms even the inexpressible secrets of spiritual principles of philosophy, the natural flow of his expression and his complete mastery over Samskrt language and Indian logic, as revealed in *Sivadrsti*, are rather unique in many respects. It goes highly to his credit that, before refuting and criticising an antagonistic thought, he

tries to understand exactly, and also to make his readers understand clearly, the exact significance of such thought and his capacity to grasp fully the exact purport of all the prevalent schools of philosophy is so wonderful. He always refutes a theory by means of subtle and sound logic assisted by psychological observations. He has examined the most vital elements of the theories of not less than thirteen main schools and several sub-schools of Indian philosophy and has refuted them by means of sound arguments.

The philosophy of Somananda is, on one hand, an absolutely monistic one and, on the other hand, a highly theistic one. The great Sankaracarya could not reconcile monism with theism and explained the latter with the help of the principle of beginningless ignorance. But Somananda realized the theistic nature of the Lord even in His absolutely transcendental unity. All the capacities and divine activities of the Lord and the whole phenomenon lie in Him in an absolutely condensed form just as all the elements of a plant lie hidden in a seed. A seed is not completely independent and therefore has to depend on some foreign elements like warmth, moisture, etc. for the manifestation of its capacities. But the Lord is absolutely independent in all respects and manifests His divine powers, through His independent will. So the whole universe, in the view of Somananda, is nothing but the manifestation of the supreme Godhead of Siva, the absolute reality. Siva, according to *Sivadrsti*, is a limitless and self evident consciousness which is ever blissful and playful by its own nature. He is always vibrating to and fro by virtue of the divine stir of consciousness which is His essential nature. That vibration should not be taken as any physical movement like that of sound or light, nor is it to be understood to be any mental impulse like desire, greed, disgust, etc. It is something like a sort of throbbing of that infinite consciousness, or a movement-like activity of that conscious luminosity which is always motionless and which is known as *Paramasiva*, the eternal, absolute and basic reality. It is known as *Spanda* in the Saiva philosophy. The purest aspect of *Spanda* can, according to *Sivadrsti*, be realized for a moment in a highest pitch of some emotion like pleasure, wonder,

anger, etc. provided a person is sufficiently super vigilant in self introspection. Somananda does not, however, use the term *Spanda* for it, but calls it *aunmukhya*.

By virtue of such stir of consciousness, the eternal bliss of the Lord appears in the form of a will to manifest and that will takes the form of knowing and doing. Consciousness, bliss, will, knowing and doing are the five primary powers of the Lord and are known as His *Saktis*. These *Saktis* have a constant rise and fall in the Lord just as waves have in an ocean. The stir of consciousness makes these powers throb to and fro and that results in manifestations of five divine activities of the Lord. The objective existence, lying merged in the infinite consciousness, appears in its objective form in the manner of a reflection. But that reflection does not require any outward object to cast it there. It is manifested by the unrestrictible will of the Lord. The five powers of the Lord grow forth, attain grossness and bring forth creation, preservation and dissolution of the universe. The Lord, while manifesting these three divine activities, goes on concealing his real nature of pure consciousness and appears in the form of the numerous types of different limited subjects and objects. He moves down and down into thicker planes of ignorance through the species of animals and plants. Then, exercising His supreme grace on some limited beings, He reveals to them His divine nature and such beings realize themselves to be the Lord and none else. These are the fourth and the fifth divine activities of obscuration and revelation of the Lord. So God, by virtue of His natural stir of consciousness, manifests these five divine activities. While doing so, He appears in the form of many types of souls in heavens, hells and mortal worlds, on one hand, and also in the form of this objective phenomenon full of immense diversity, on the other hand. In the view of Somananda, every being and thing is God and God alone. A person may realize his Godhead or may not do so, he is God and God alone in both the cases. One may recognize gold as gold or may not recognize it like that; gold is gold in both the cases. But the difference lies in one way. While recognized as gold it gives great joy to its possessor and becomes of great use to him. In the same way one's

Godhead, when realized and recognized thoroughly by a person, makes him at once blissful and can be partly exercised and, consequently, relished by him. Therefore a wise person should realize and recognize his basic divine nature and it is for that purpose that Somananda composed *Sivadrsti*.

Somananda does not completely agree with the principles of the Vedantic monism, because, according to Vedanta, the Godhead of the Lord and the manifestation of the phenomenon are mere appearances based on the effect of *Avidya*. 'Where from did *Avidya* originally emerge,' asks Somananda. The principle of beginninglessness and inexplicability of *Avidya* does not appeal him. To him it is a sort of escapism. He lays stress on the principle of the absolutely independent will of the Lord and says that His will knows no restrictions or obstructions. He appears as He wills and doing so, becomes, as it were, all the elements of which the phenomenon consists. So, on the one hand, He is the absolute reality consisted of only an unlimited, all containing, self radiant and absolutely pure consciousness and, on the other hand, whatever appears in the universe is He and He alone. Even an inanimate object is, in reality, as much God as God in His transcendental aspect.

As for the principles of *Siva* and *Sakti*, he says that the whole play of the fivefold divine activity of the Lord is His *Sakti*, which is His Godhead and is His very essence. *Sakti* is therefore never different from *Siva*. Just as capacities to shine, to burn, to give warmth, to cook and so on, are never different from fire, so have all the powers of the Lord a complete identity with Him. But so far as the name to be given to the ultimate reality is concerned, he argues that the word *Sakti*, according to its grammatical formation, denotes an attribute which must have some substance as its support to stand upon and concludes that, for this reason, the absolute reality should be called *Siva*, rather than *Sakti*. His commentator mentions the so-called *Saktas* as '*Svayuthyas*,' that is, persons belonging to their own rank, the rank of Saivas. So Saktism, according to *Sivadrsti*, is not different from Saivism.

Somananda does not fully agree with the expressions of the seers of Vedic Upanisads. He quotes from many of them

and shows how the expressions used are not free from defects. While doing so, he points out that the Upanisadic scholars are depending on the self-imagined principle of *Avidya* and that proves his criticism as being aimed at such ancient Vedantins who interpreted Upanisads with the help of the theory of *Vivarta*.

He generally draws inspiration from the Saiva *Agamas* and bases the principles of his philosophy on them. His philosophy is, on that account, a Tantric one and not a Vedic one, though, at places, he accepts the authority of the Vedic scriptures also. He neither agrees with the gross realism of *Nyaya-Vaisesika* systems, nor with the subtle realism of *Samkhya-Yoga* systems, on one hand, and, on the other hand, he does not approve of the idealism of the Vedanta or that of the *Vijnanavdda* of the Buddhists. The *Sunyavada* - of Nagarjuna also does not appeal him. He refutes the basic principles of all these schools of thought.

He agrees with the idealists in maintaining that the phenomenon is a mere appearance. But, in his view, the root cause of this appearance lies in the nature of the absolute Godhead of Siva Who appears as He wills. Therefore the whole universe, in his opinion, is Siva appearing in different forms at different stages and substages in the process of His five playful activities of Godhead. His philosophy can be taken either as monistic theism or as theistic monism and since he takes the basic reality as the Absolute and sees the whole phenomenon as the manifestation of that Absolute, it can be termed as a theistic absolutism as well.

Somananda, though not so much known through the length and breadth of India, and though still less known abroad, is, in fact, one of the greatest thinkers and siddhas of India and has made one of the most valuable contributions to Indian culture. It is however a matter for satisfaction that scholars in this country and abroad have lately started to take interest in him and his teachings.

CHAPTER V

Isvarapratyabhijna of Utpaladeva

The Saiva philosophy of Kashmir has been named as *Pratyabhijna-darsana* in the *Saravadarsanasangraha* of Madhavacharya partly because the name of the most important philosophic work on the subject is *Isvarapratyabhijna* and partly because the doctrine of *pratyabhijna*, or self-recognition, has been given the utmost importance in that work of Utpaladeva. Abhinavagupta, one of the top most important thinkers of India, while mentioning the importance of that work, says like this, "It may be possible for a person to dive deep into something much more fearful than the upsurging waters of highly ruffled ocean, made dreadful by the flames of its interior fire, named *Vadavanala*, kindled immensely by forceful gales of stormy winds at the time of the cosmic dissolution of all solid existence, but it is not at all possible for a thinker to fathom the depths of the philosophy expressed in *Isvarapratyabhijna*, which none other than Siva Himself is capable to do!" (I.P.V. V. vol. III, p. 406).

Utpaladeva, the author of the work, belonged, according to the statement of Ramakantha, his disciple, to *Rajanaka* family of Kashmirian Brahmins. His father, according to his own statement, was Udayakara. He had a son named Vibhramakara. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, taking suggestion from these two names, infers that the original name of Utpaladeva may have been Utpalakara. It is just possible that his disciples and associates may have added, out of respect, the word 'deva' to his name and, in order to shorten it, may have

dropped the word *akara* from it. He calls himself simply 'Utpala.' He does not give us any more information regarding his personal history. Abhinavagupta, while commenting on the *Viviti* of Utpaladeva on his *own-Isvarapratyabhijna*, says that Utpaladeva was a Brahmin born of Vagisvarl and his father was a 'Lata' by origin. Vagisvari was thus the name of his mother. Latas were the ancient people of Gujarat. The ancestors of Utpaladeva had thus migrated from Gujarat to Kashmir, most probably during the reign of Lalitaditya. It appears from the words of Abhinavagupta that Utpaladeva had himself given such information in his *Vivrti* on the words - "*Udayakarasununa*" of his *Isvarapratyabhijna*. But since the *Vivrti* has not so far become available, this point cannot be fully elucidated.

Somananda, the twentieth presiding teacher of the school of Tyarabaka and the author of '*Sivadrsti*', the first philosophic treatise written on the subject, was the preceptor of Utpaladeva. Laksmanagupta and Abhinavagupta were respectively his immediate successors in the line of direct disciples. Ramakantha, a contemporary of Avantivarman, was also one of his prominent disciples. Padmananda was his class mate. Ramakantha's commentaries on *Spandakarika* and *Bhagavadgita* are available in print. It was he who collected and compiled the poetical works of Utpaladeva.

Utpaladeva quotes from *Spandakarika* of Bhatta Kallata and also from *Tattvagarbha-Stotra* of Bhatta Pradyumna, a disciple and a cousin of the former. Bhatta Kallata, who was a perfect being (*siddha*), lived in Kashmir during the reign of Avantivarman and has been mentioned like that by Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* which mentions Muktakana as a court poet of that ruler. Ramakantha says that he was a younger brother of Muktakana. Therefore all these *teachers*, philosophers and poets belong to the later part of the ninth century. They are thus elder and younger contemporaries, Bhatta-Kallata and Bhatta Pradyumna as the elder ones, Somananda and Utpaladeva as the younger ones and Laksmanagupta and Ramakantha as still younger ones.

Abhinavagupta belonged to the later part of the 10th century and the earlier part of the eleventh century. The

dates given by him in three of his works correspond respectively with A.D. 990, 992, and 1014 A.D. while writing his *Vimarsini* on the *Vivrti* of Utpaladeva on his own *Isvarapratyabhijna*, he (Abhinavagupta) says that he was entrusted by the author to his disciple Laksmanagupta, for the purpose of initiation in the monistic Saiva philosophy, as discussed in that work. This proves two things: Firstly, it shows that Utpaladeva was living in this world upto the time when Abhinavagupta was just a young boy who could not be yet taught the profound principles of philosophy discussed in *Isvarapratyabhijna*. Secondly, it proves that Abhinavagupta was born in that early part of the tenth century when Utpaladeva was still living in a mortal form. Both Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta must have thus lived long lives, the first one beginning it in the ninth century A.D. and the second one reaching at least the first quarter of the eleventh century and both living together in the middle of the tenth.

Neither Utpaladeva nor any one else has ever said anything about the exact place of his residence. It is however probable that he was a resident of Srinagar proper, where most of the authors of important works on Kashmir Saivism lived. There is a tradition prevalent among some old pandits of Srinagar which says that his exact place of residence was Gotapora, (ancient Guptapura), situated somewhere in the northern part of the old city towards Vetsarnag.

Utpaladeva was a great scholar. He was a master of all the subjects studied by scholars in his age. His *Vivrti* on his *Isvarapratyabhijna* must have been over-burdened by discussions from the view points of other schools of thought like *Mimamsa*, *Sabda-Brahma-vada*, *Vijnanavada* etc. This thing is proved by the *Vimarsini* written on it by Abhinavagupta. He had surely made a thorough study of the works of Buddhist logicians whose views he refutes now and then by means of sound arguments.

The paths of *sannyasa*, *vratagya* and forced repression of mind and senses, popularly prevalent among the saints and philosophers of many other parts of India, had never become much popular with the Hindu adepts of Kashmir. Most of the Hindu philosophers of that land lived house-

holders' life in accordance with Brahmanic ideals laid down in *Smrtis* and come down in tradition. Five of the immediate ancestors of Somananda were householders. Bhatta Kallata was a householder and so was Utpaladeva. Somananda also was probably a householder. They followed Brahmanism and practised Saiva Yoga, side by side. Theirs was an integral path of action, devotion, meditation and knowledge.

Utpaladeva is the author of several valuable works on Saiva philosophy and the most important one among them is *I'svarapratyabhijna*. This work deals with nearly all the important topics of the theory of Saiva philosophy and makes them sufficiently clear to curious students. *Sivadrsti* of Somananda, on account of its extremely minute ideas, absolute subtleness of its logical method and intense conciseness of its style of expression, did not allow it to become so much popular with students in general as did later *I'svarapratyabhijna* of Utpaladeva, his chief disciple. This work expresses in a more intelligible and an easier style all the main principles of the theory of Saiva philosophy discussed in *Sivadrsti* and has been correctly described by Abhinavagupta as bearing clear reflections of the philosophy of Somananda.

(I. Pr. V. vol. II, p. 2)

I'svarapratyabhijna consists of four sections or books called *Adhikaras*. *Jnana* (knowing) and *Kriya* (doing) have been accepted as two main aspects of consciousness and the first two books of the work deal with the manifestations of these two powers of the Absolute God. Book I, named *Jnanadhikara*, refutes the Buddhist doctrine of the nonexistence of a knowing subject and establishes its eternal existence in addition to the constant flow of momentary mental ideas. It proves that the real "I" is that pure and permanent consciousness which makes all recollections possible, serves as the necessary connecting link between any two ideas and with the psychic light of which do all the mental phenomena shine and appear as existent entities. It throws light on the manner in which limited subjects and objects of perception, cognition any recollection as well as the limitation itself are manifested by God through His divine powers. It proves permanent, infinite and pure consciousness to be the only base of all

finite cognitions, recollections etc. It establishes by means of sound arguments the absolute Godhood of the pure and infinite consciousness, shining as all-containing, infinite, eternal, pure and absolute I-consciousness.

Book II of *I'svarapratyabhijna* is devoted to the description of the nature of Kriya, the way and the manner of the manifestations of movement, relativity, time, space and means of relative knowledge. The Saivite theory of causations also has been dealt with in detail in that book. Time and space have been proved to be mere conceptions of the finite subject and are said to be based on two types of relativity which also has been taken as a mere conception based on limited and pluralistic view of the finite subject. The scope of the relative means of mundane knowledge has been discussed in detail and the ultimate Truth has been established as an absolute existence shining through its own psychic lustre of pure I-consciousness and lying beyond the scope of all worldly means of knowing.

Book III describes the evolution of the thirty-six *tattvas* out of the Absolute. It analyses the whole phenomenon into different elements and describes the different stages of its evolution in accordance with the doctrines of Saiva-Agamas. The same doctrines are applied to the classification of knowing subjects into seven categories of living beings. It throws light on the extent of their comparative purity and impurity as well. Such classification has also been worked out in accordance with the doctrines of Saiva Agamas and this book has, on such account been termed as *Agamadhikara*. It throws light on the nature of the four states of animation consisting of waking, dreaming, sleeping and the fourth one. Besides, it describes the essence of the five functions of animation called *prana*, *apana*, *samana*, *udana* and *vyana*. These five functions of animation and its four states are correlated with the seven types of living beings through an integral approach to these three types of analysis of the subjective phenomenon. The last book is devoted to the remaining important topics such as the origin and nature of three *gunas*. It elludes briefly to the central topic of Saivayoga and hints at its immediate results. Towards the close of the work has been discussed

the importance of self recognition or *pratyabhijna* and the whole work has afterwards been concluded with a reference to the name of the author and his father.

Another philosophic work of Utpaladeva is *Siddhitrayi* which consists of three small different works. It is meant to supplement *I'svarapratyabhijna*. Certain topics, which were dealt with very briefly in that work, were afterwards discussed in detail in *Siddhitrayi*. The first of these *Siddhis* is *Ajadapramatr-siddhi* in which the author proves that no dealings of knowing or doing would have become possible without the constant existence of a subjective element shining in the form of that pure I-consciousness which is an eternal entity and is different from mind and mental states. The theory of non-existentialism of the *Vijnanavada* of *Mahayana* Buddhism has thus been fully refuted. The second text, named *I'svara-siddhi*, aims at the refutation of the atheistic theory of transformation (*parinamavada*), as advocated in the Samkhya system. The author argues that the creation of this universe, consisting of numerous subjects and objects, possessing wonderfully different nature and capable of yielding wonderfully different aims, could not have become possible had there not been an all-knowing conscious element behind its movements, directing them in accordance with some law and aiming them at different kinds of purposes of individual beings. It is further argued that no soul could have attained *Kaivalya* had the unconscious *prakrti* (root substance) been independently active in transforming itself of its own accord, because, being inanimate in nature, it could never have discriminated any enlightened souls from others who are yet in darkness. The third text, named *Sambandha-siddhi*, is devoted to the explanation of the nature, origin and manifestation of relativity which has been explained to be a mere conception of the finite being. *I'svarapratyabhijna* becomes complete with *Siddhitrayi* which serves it as an addendum.

Utpaladeva had written some more works on philosophy. Abhinavagupta quotes passages from them without mentioning their names. He has been said to have composed a work named *Parapancasika* on the Saivayoga of the highest type. A verse has been quoted from it in several other works and

the name of the work has been mentioned by Amrtananda in his *Yoginihrdayadipika*. But the verse concerned is not found in the printed text of the work. His authorship with respect to that work is therefore doubtful.

Somananda built the theoretical aspect of Kashmir Saivism in his *Sivadrsti*, Utpaladeva refined it in his philosophic works mentioned above and Abhinavagupta carried it to complete perfection by giving the final interpretation to its doctrines and principles through his commentaries on the above mentioned works and by systematising and analysing its practical aspect through his works like *Tantraloka* and *Tantrasara*. Utpaladeva composed, in addition, brief commentaries called *vr̥tti* on *Sivadrsti*, *I'svarapratyabhijna* and *Siddhi-trayi* which are partly available. The loss of his *vr̥tti* on the last half of *Sivadrsti* is an irreparable loss which pinches the students and scholars of Saivism because that part of the work remains unintelligible to a great extent. Utpaladeva's detailed commentary called *Viv̥rti* or *Tika*, written by him on his own *I'svarapratyabhijna*, has also been lost and the detailed commentary written on that *Viv̥rti* by Abhinavagupta does not yield sufficient results on that account. If the *Viv̥rti* could become available the colossal work of Abhinavagupta would become very useful.

Utpaladeva was not only a philosopher of deep insight but also a poet of great merit. He composed a few beautiful hymns in praise of Lord Siva. In addition, he wrote a considerable number of single verses at different occasional outbursts of spiritual ecstasy caused by highly emotional feelings of union with and separation from God. Such verses were afterwards collected, compiled and classified into poems by disciples in the line. The collection was named *Sivastotravail*. It is available with a Sanskrit commentary by Ksemaraja. All that poetry of Utpaladeva can be classed with the best religious lyrics of India. His poetry is suggestive of certain profound principles of his philosophy which finds a more effective expression in poetry than in logical composition.

All the important post-Buddhist schools of Hindu philosophy have criticised the Buddhist principles of atheism and non-existentialism. But, since that religion depended more

on intellect and reasoning than on faith and scriptural authority, its thinkers attained higher maturity in subtle logic with which they could beat Hindu thinkers in debates. The Saiva philosophers of Kashmir took the Buddhists as the chief antagonists and both Somananda and Utpaladeva devoted a significant part of their literary efforts to the refutation of the atheistic arguments of Buddhist logicians. They silenced the subtle logical arguments of *Vijñānavāda* with the help of equally subtle logic assisted by psychological findings based on practical experiences in the fields of perception, conception and intuition. They could thus succeed in convincing the curious seekers of truth about the fallacy of the atheistic *Vijñānavāda*, of Buddhism and about the correctness of their theistic absolutism. Abhinavagupta completed that mission of his predecessors.

As for the basic principles of the philosophy of Utpaladeva, he rejects the theory of material realism advocated by *Sarvastivāda* school of Buddhism and criticised by the *Vijñānavāda* of the same religion. He agrees with idealists in accepting the principle that the whole phenomenon is a mere appearance without any substance apart from the nature and powers of the psychic luminosity of pure I-consciousness. His criticism of the *Sarvastivāda* holds good as a criticism of the Hindu schools of material realism e.g. Nyaya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya etc. *Vijñānavādins* hold the view that all the objective entities in the universe are mere reflections, or mere outward projections of constant flows of momentary mental ideas and are caused by the age old impressions (*vasanas*) flowing down in the currents of such momentary ideas. The *Vedāntins*, agreeing partly with them, maintain that all phenomena are the reflections of the imaginative will of a universal being named *I'svara*, Who, along with the whole phenomenon, is Himself a mere appearance based on the basic ignorance called *Avidyā* which, in their view, is beginningless and inexplicable. Utpaladeva does not agree with either of these theories of Indian idealism. He resorts to sound logical arguments, aided by psychological findings and asserts that there must be an eternally existent knowing subject, in addition to the constant flux of momentary ideas. He maintains

that pure, potent and active consciousness is definitely the essential form of such subject. He argues further that any mundane dealings of knowing, recollecting, doing, etc. can become possible only when such a conscious and potent subject serves as the connecting link between any series of mental or physical actions. He says that no such series of knowing or doing can ever become possible without the help of the psychic luminosity of a permanently existent subject consisted of that pure I-consciousness which transcends mind and mental ideas and which serves as the base on which these shine. He accepts such a subject as the real self of every living being and maintains that it is always prone to know and to do by its own basic nature and not on account of any external adjunct like *Avidya* or *vasana*. The real self of every being is, in the view of Utpaladeva, that pure I-consciousness which is absolutely independent, divinely potent and constantly playful by its own basic nature. Such nature of the self has been accepted by him as the basic cause of its appearing as relative God, as finite soul and as objective existence.

As for the whole phenomenal existence, he says that it shines and works successfully inside the psychic luminosity of the pure consciousness and does not at all appear or exist outside it. He insists on such account that it is, in reality, the pure consciousness itself which shines in the form of all phenomena. Abhinavagupta explains it as the reflection of the powers of the pure and potent consciousness, shining in its own psychic lustre on account of its own divine and playful nature mentioned above. Utpaladeva takes thus a position quite different from those taken by both the idealists and the realists. Such a position cannot be counted as a theory of idealism, because phenomena have not been accepted in it as being basically the reflections of any mind or as any mental ideas of any finite or infinite being. These have been accepted as the materialisation of the divine will of the infinite and pure subject brought about inside the luminosity of his pure consciousness by his own playful nature. Idealism involves ideas and those require mental apparatus which also has itself been accepted as a reflection of the divine will of such absolute subject. Utpaladeva does not agree with the non-

existentialism worked out by Advaita Vedanta with regard to the phenomenon, because he says in clear terms that all phenomena do exist in the Absolute in the form of pure consciousness.

The playful nature of the Absolute shines in the form of a will to manifest objectively as "this" the whole phenomenon which is always lying there in the form of pure "I." It exists there just as all botanical elements growing out of seed and soil do already exist in them. But seed and soil require the help of external elements like moisture and warmth etc. for the purpose of their manifestation in the form of plant, flower, fruit etc. and when they appear in such forms they cease to shine in their original forms of seed and soil. But God and His Godhead do not at all require the help of any outward element in appearing in the form of the phenomenon. Besides, appearing as the whole phenomenal existence, they do not cease to shine in their original forms of pure consciousness and its divine potency, both of which are in reality only one eternal entity given two different names for the sake of understanding.

The will of the Absolute is irresistible and therefore it materialises by stages and the universe consisting of different types of numerous finite subjects and objects appears inside the psychic luminosity of the pure consciousness without the help of any external element like *vasana* or *avidya*. It gets reflected without any outward objects to cast their reflections into that luminosity. Just as reflections of different hues cannot affect the purity of crystal, so do not the reflections of diversity, objectivity, solidity etc. affect the purity of the potent Absolute which does not thus undergo any change while appearing as all phenomena. The manifestation of the universe in it is a mere show, a mere appearance and not any change or modification in its nature or character. The universe is not as false as the son of a barren woman, but its universal appearance, having a rise and a fall, is not as real as the Absolute. All phenomena exist in the Absolute in the form of pure consciousness and appear in their phenomenal form through the playful and divine will of the Absolute itself. They are thus the outward manifestations of the

Godhead of God. Godhead is as real as God and therefore the phenomenon also is real in its original and basic aspect of Godhead. Its phenomenal appearance alone has been accepted as a creation. Such a position, taken by Utpaladeva with respect to the nature of phenomenal existence, can be termed as spiritual realism. Since Godhead has been shown to be the very essential nature of the monistic Absolute, the philosophy of Utpaladeva can be termed as a theistic absolutism. Utpaladeva accepts the absolute reality of only one entity named *Pramasiva*, the Great Brahman and refutes the existence of anything other than that, serving as an external adjunct (*upadhi*) for the purpose of the appearance of the phenomenon. His monism can therefore be taken as the theistic and the absolute monism. It is on such account that Abhinavagupta coins a new term for it and calls it *Paradvaita* or *Paramadvaya*, so as to differentiate it from the Vedantic monism which takes the shelter of the principle of *avidya* for the purpose of the explanation of the phenomenal existence.

The real self of every being is, according to Utpaladeva, the absolute God whose wonderfully potent will is His Godhead. God, being always charged with such will, projects out the reflections of His divine powers which appear as all phenomena. He sustains them and dissolves them again to pure consciousness. While doing so he conceals His divine nature and appears as limited soul, on one hand, and as his objective universe, on the other hand. God, applying His wrath on some souls, pushes them down into deeper and deeper darkness of ignorance and that is His activity of obscurisation termed as *pldhana* or *tirodhana*, or *vilaya* or *nigraha*. He, applying His enlightening grace on some soul, reveals to him the whole truth about His divine nature and such a being, realising himself to be none other than God, sees every objective entity as his own self. That is the revelative activity of God. Godhead consists thus of five divine activities. An adept practitioner has, in the view of Utpaladeva, just to realise and recognise his real divine nature, that is, his natural Godhead, by means of the exact understanding of the philosophy discussed in *I'svarapratyabhijna* and has to actually feel his divine nature by practising Saiva yoga

alluded to by him towards the close of that work. Such realisation by an aspirant is the highest aim for which *Isvarapratyabhijna* was composed by the author.

Sivastotvarali of Utpaladeva reveals him to be a great poet possessing a spontaneous flow of highly beautiful poetry. Clearness of expression, depth of emotion, appropriateness of technique, choice of appropriate metres, and frequency of unlaboured figures of speech, found in *Sivastotravali* raise the author to the rank of *mahakavis*. His approach towards God is not that of awe and servility, but of intense love and familiarity. The relation between him and his Lord is not that of a shuddering devout servant and a dreadful mighty master, but like that of a confident child and his affectionate parent. Utpaladeva is very often quite free with his Lord and reproaches Him mildly many a time for not being sufficiently gracious to him, just as one would reproach a person very near and extremely dear to him. The poet becomes at times mad with love for his Lord and expresses an emotional longing for a constant union with Him. The devotion and the worship mentioned many a time by the poet is in fact that direct realisation of the truth in which a devotee becomes one with God and sees Him in each and every object of his exterior and interior senses. *Sivastotravali* is thus the practical demonstration of the theory of philosophy discussed in *Isarapratyabhijna* and serves as an effective supplement to that unique work on spiritual philosophy. In short, the contribution of Utpaladeva to India's cultural achievement is unique and he is one of the greatest spiritual philosophers of the world, though he is not known much outside the small community of the Pandits of Kashmir. *Isvarapratyabhijna* is his most valuable work on philosophy and time may come when the students of the subject throughout the whole civilized world may enjoy immense ecstasy in sucking the nectar of divine knowledge from it. What is needed in that regard is the writing and publishing of lucid and scholarly commentaries on it in English and in Hindi. Such commentaries should contain the exact essence of the Sanskrit *Vimarsini* on it by Abhinavagupta which, though published in two editions, has recently gone out of print

CHAPTER VI

Abhinavagupta's Contribution to Saivism

Abhinavagupta, one of the most prominent authors of Kashmir Saivism, was a descendant of Atrigupta, a great scholar of Kannauj, whom king Lalitaditya invited to live in Kashmir in the eighth century A.D. Atrigupta was not a *Vaisya*, as the surname would suggest, but was a Brahmin of a high rank as he has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta as a *pragrya-janma*.¹ An administrative officer, governing one hundred villages, was designated in ancient times as a *gopta* (from *goptr*). Some ancestor of Atrigupta was such a prominent *gopta* that his family was subsequently known by such surname. Visnugupta, the great Chanakya and Brahmagupta, the great astronomer, were both Brahmins having such surname. The word 'gupta,' in this context, is just a distorted form of the word '*gopta*.' Many great scholars and teachers appeared in Kashmir in the family of Atrigupta. Vasugupta, the discoverer of Sivasutra, and Laksmanagupta, a teacher of Abhinavagupta, may have risen from the same family as no other Kashmirian family of scholars under such name has so far come to light. Narasinhagupta and Varahagupta, both great scholars and saints, were respectively the father and the grandfather of Abhinavagupta. His mother, Vimlakala, was a yoginī. Manoharagupta was his younger brother and a favourite disciple. His other prominent disciples were Kama, Mandra, Vatsalika and Amba. Some other disciples mentioned by him in his *Tantraloka* include his five cousins named

1. P. Tr. V., p. 280, verse 11.

Ksemagupta, Utpalagupta, Abhinavagupta II, Cakragupta and Padmagupta. But none among all such favourite disciples of the great teacher, except Abhinava, the author of *Tantra-vata-dhanika*, a work of minor importance, pursued any remarkable academic activities of *writing books* or commentaries. His only disciple who showed sufficient interest and ability in such activity was Ksemaraja, who is different from Ksemagupta and who may have belonged to a family from which sprung scholars like Bhutiraja, Adityaraja, Induraja etc. But it is a wonder that Ksemaraja's name has not been mentioned by the great teacher in any of his available works. It is possible that Ksemaraja could not have won the favour of his preceptor on account of his being over-conscious about the superiority of his intelligence which may have amounted to egoism not appreciable in the case of a scholar-saint. Abhinavagupta had many teachers and preceptors from whom he picked up many secrets of different *sastras*. The greatest of his preceptors was Sarnbhunatha of Kangra whom he refers at least twentytwo times in his *Tantraloka* and for whom he expresses the greatest regard in several important works on philosophy and theology. Abhinavagupta belonged to the later part of the tenth and the earlier part of the eleventh century A.D. The year of composition, given by him in three of his works, corresponds with 990, 992 and 1014 A.D. respectively.²

Abhinavagupta wrote on subjects like dramaturgy, literary criticism, logic etc., in addition to Saivism on which he is the final authority in both, the theory and practice. He interpreted correctly and clearly the philosophic principles and theological doctrines of Kashmir Saivism through his commentaries and independent works. It is in fact he who popularized Kashmir Saivism by writing detailed and elucidative commentaries on the works of Somananda and Utpaladeva. As a commentator and interpreter, he did not leave any stone unturned in the field of the philosophy of Saivism. Besides, he is the only author who arranged, systematized and interpreted the highly esoteric and mystic doc-

trines of Saiva theology lying scattered in the vast scriptural literature of Saiva Agamas. In addition to these two difficult and colossal tasks, he made the Saiva philosophy easy to be understood even by beginners through some small and big but easy works that can even now serve as text-books at the M.A. (Sansk.) level. In addition to it, he composed several easy religio-philosophic lyrics dedicated to Siva and Sakti. Such lyrics throw a wonderful light on some highly mysterious points of spiritual philosophy.

His most important commentaries and independent works:

1. *I'svara-ptatyabhijna* of Utpaladeva is the most important work on the philosophy of Kashmir Saivism. Such a work would not have become fully intelligible and could not have attained so much popularity if Abhinavagupta had not explained the principles contained in it through his detailed commentary named *Vimarsini*. No scholar other than him could have done such a difficult task so efficiently as he did it.
2. Utpaladeva had written himself a brief but scholarly commentary on his *I'svarapratyabhijna*. It was known either as *Tika* or as *Vivrti*.³ The scholarly discussions on many topics contained in it were of a very high standard of learning. But, unfortunately, none of its manuscripts has become available so far. Abhinavagupta wrote a voluminous commentary in the form of detailed notes explaining the scholarly philosophic ideas of Utpaladeva expressed in that *Vivrti*. That commentary has been published by the State Government in three big volumes, but cannot be of sufficient use to scholars for want of the original text of the *Vivrti* which it elucidates. The commentary is known as *I'svarapratyabhijna-vivrti-vimarsini*.
3. Abhinavagupta wrote commentaries on three smaller works of Utpaladeva. Those commentaries have unfortunately been lost. Two of them have been quoted

by Mahes'varananda in his *Mahartha-manjai-parimala*.⁴ Such commentaries are his *Vimarslnis* an (i) *Ajada-pramatr-siddhi*, *I'svara-siddhi* and *Sambandha-siddhi*.

4. A highly lamentable loss is the disappearance of his commentary named *Alocana* on *Sivadrsti* of Somananda.⁵ Very few scholars do read *Sivadrsti*. Had the *Alocana* of Abhinavagupta been available, *Sivadrsti* would have become as much popular with scholars as *Isvarapratyabhijna*.
5. Another lamentable loss is that of *Krama-keli*, his commentary on *Kramastotra* of Siddhanatha, dealing with a superior type of Trika yoga termed as *Kalinaya* or *Kramanaya*.⁶
6. *Paratrimśaka* is a small scriptural work dealing with some highly esoteric doctrines of practice of the Trika system. Abhinavagupta's detailed commentary named *Vivarana* on it throws light on many of such esoteric practices expressed very often through the method of mysticism. It is thus one of the most important works on the theology of the Trika system of Saivism.
7. The most important original work of Abhinavagupta is *Tantraloka*. It contains the essence of all the scriptural works of monistic Saivism. Esoteric doctrines of *Trika Yoga*, lying scattered in the *Trika* scriptures and expressed there through a highly mystic method, were collected, compiled, arranged in a proper order, systematized philosophically and expressed in a lucid style by Abhinavagupta in that voluminous work. All the relevant principles of philosophy have also been discussed there, side by side, by the great author. Besides, the work deals with all the important rituals of the Trika system through a philosophic method and contains thus a finer theological study as well. It is in this way a *unique work* on the practical side of spiritual philosophy and throws immense light

4. M.M.P., pp. 133, 142.

5. P. Tr. V., p. 116.

6. (i) Ibid, p. 236
(ii) T.A.V., vol. III, p. 191.

on many obscure and mystic topics of Saivite *Sadhana* through a philosophic method and style.

8. *Tantrasanra* of Abhinavagupta is just a summary of his *Tantraloka* written in lucid prose style. It is very often simpler and clearer than the latter but lacks in the details of the subject.
9. One more highly important and independent work of Abhinavagupta is his *Malini-vljaya-vartika* dealing with the esoteric doctrines of theoretical and practical aspects of Saiva monism as expressed mystically in the *Malini-vijayottara tantra* of the Trika system. This work discusses in detail many principles and doctrines of a highly profound character. Such an important work should have been explained by some scholars in the line of the disciples of Abhinavagupta. The work, though of very high academic merit, has not so far become sufficiently popular for want of such elucidative commentary. Ksemaraja should have tried his pen on such a work instead of the simple Tantric scriptures like *Svacchanda* and *Netra Tantras*.
10. Abhinavagupta had composed another such work on the previous (purva) portion of *Malini-tantra*. It was known as *Purva-pancika*. He had written some other such *Pancikas*, referred by him, on practical Saivism. But all of them have been lost.
11. Adisesa had written a philosophic work named *Paramartha-sara* at a time when theistic Samkhya, Vaishnavism and Upanisadic Vedanta had not yet developed as distinctly separate schools of philosophy. Abhinavagupta was attracted by its merits of clear and accurate expression. He liked it but did not approve of its Vaishnavite character. So he revised it, gave it a Saivite form and presented it to readers as a good text book of monistic Saivism useful for beginners. It can serve even now as a good text book of Kashmir Saivism at the level of M.A. Sanskrit and M.A. Philosophy.
12. Some other easy and brief text books and some philosophic poems written by Abhinavagupta for the

sake of beginners are:

- (i) *Bodhapanccadasika* dealing with the very fundamental principles of the philosophy of Kashmir Saivism.
- (ii) *Paramarthacarca*, a brief work that can serve as an aid in the *Jnanadiksa* of the Trika Yoga of the highest type,
- (iii) *Anuttarastika*, a small work of the same character as above.
- (iv) *Anubhava-nivedana-stotra*, a philosophic lyric describing the Yogic experiences attainable through the practice of some esoteric *mudras*
- (v) *Bhairavastotra*, a beautiful religio-philosophic lyric expressing the view of a perfect yogin towards life, death, misery etc.
- (vi) *Dehastha-devata-cakra-stotra* explaining an important element of monistic ritual worship of the Lord.
- (vii) *Kramastotra* discussing in detail the mystic doctrines of *Kaliyoga* as prevalent among the adherents of Kashmir Saivism.

In addition he wrote many minor works on Saivism which have been lost and composed several important works on some other subjects like dramaturgy, literary criticism, logic and so on.

Abhinavagupta alone could explain correctly the works of Somananda and Utpaladeva as he was equally advanced in yogic attainments and scholarship. He alone could write works like *Tantraloka*, *Malini-vijaya-vartika* and *Paratrimbsakavivarana*, because as a saint-scholar he possessed the highly valuable merits listed below:

- (i) He had the deepest direct realization of the principles of the monistic Saiva philosophy of Kashmir,
- (ii) He had sufficient experience in the practice of the highest methods of yoga of both the Trika and the Kula systems.

- (iii) He possessed a very sharp intelligence capable to form a *correct conceptual understanding of the truth* experienced through a non-conceptual direct realization.
- (iv) He had complete command over language and could express rightly and clearly whatever he experienced and understood.
- (v) He was a master of logic and *mimamsa* and could therefore discuss topics of philosophy with great efficiency.
- (vi) He knew the *secrets of the theories* of all the schools of thought and succeeded in examining them critically in a convincing manner.
- (vii) He lived a long life resulting in a high maturity in experience, thought and expression and could render an immensely valuable service to more than *one prevalent subjects of study*.

It is a pity that all except one of his disciples were interested only in the tasteful experiences of self-realization and did not, consequently, develop any remarkable active interest in academic pursuits with the result that many of his very important works remained unexplained and unelucidated. Even Ksjmaraja, who is proud of his being the disciple of Abhinavagupta, did not touch any of his works. He wrote commentaries on Sivasutra, Spandasastra, some Tantric works and some philosophic poems, but did not take up the task of explaining the works of greater importance written by his master. The duty of commenting upon *Tantraloka* fell down upon Jayaratha a hundred years after Ksemaraja. *Isvarapratyabhijna-vimarsini* was explained by Bhaskarakantha by the close of the eighteenth century. Some other important works of that great author of Kashmir Saivism are still lying unexplained. Siva alone knows as to who will be so fortunate as to write notes on them.

CHAPTER VII

Authors of Secondary Importance

SIVANANDANATHA

A special type of *Saktopaya* was discovered by a Siddha named Sivananda-natha in the eighth century at some *Uttra-peetha*. He introduced it to the Saiva aspirants of Kashmir through his disciples and grand disciples. It is known as *Kramanaya* or *Kalinaya*. Kali is the name given here to that divine power of the Absolute God which brings about the manifestation of the trinity of knowing subject, known object and the means of the action of knowing termed in Indian philosophy as *Pramatr Prameya* and *Pramana*. All these three points of the triangle of the phenomenal existence pass through the divine activities of Kali in creation, preservation and dissolution at the planes of perfect unity, unity in diversity and complete diversity and their basic seeds lie in the all containing transcendental aspect of Kali. Kali appears thus as conducting divine activities in the phenomenon in her (3x4=12) twelve aspects and such aspects of the Godhead of God, personified as twelve female deities, are the twelve Kalis which become the targets of contemplation in the practice of *Krama-naya* of Sivananda.

An aspirant has to visualize the symbolic form of a Kali and has to contemplate on its essence and to identify it with his own self so that he feels that his own power is conducting the divine activity concerned, termed as a special type of *kalana* or manifestation. All the twelve Kalis are to be contemplated upon, one by one, in a regular order of success-

ion so that the theistic nature of an aspirant becomes perfectly impressed on him through such contemplative practice conducted regularly. That is the essence of the Yoga conducted through the method of *Kalinaya*,

Krama is the Sanskrit word that denotes succession. Since contemplative practice of *Kalinaya* is to be conducted in accordance with a definite Krama of the twelve aspects of Kali in such practice of subjective yoga, it is popularly known; as *Krama-yoga*. It became very much popular by the time of Jayaratha (12th Century), so much so that he recognizes *Trika*, *Kula* and *Krama* as three separate and independent systems of practice in Saiva yoga. Abhinavagupta incorporates *Krama-yoga* in *Saktopaya* as it is the same when examined philosophically. It is on such examination that he takes Kaula system as identical with the *Trika* system saying that *Varna* and *Dakṣma* systems become one in *Trika* and are called as *Kaula*.

"*Ektra militam Kaulam Sri-sadardhaka-Sasane.*" (T.A. 37-26). But if both are examined thoroughly in the aspect of their practice, these appear as two distinct systems. Seeing them through such view he says that *Trika* is superior to *Kula*. *Tata evatra sarvottaratvam, Kula-sastrebhyopyadhikyat. Kulat parataram Trikam*" "*It is sarvo-ttaratvam*" (P. Tr. V, p. 259). That is the result of examining the things philosophically as well as practically.

We do not have at present any work composed by Sivananda-natha, but two verses from his pen have been preserved in quotations in the commentary on *Tantraloka* (Vol. III, p. 197) by Jayaratha and that proves him to have been an author as well. He imparted the method of *Kalinaya* to his three female disciples named Keyuravati, Madanika and Kalyanika. Keyuravati imparted it to Govindaraja who initiated Somananda in it. It reached Jayaratha through a line of teacher and taught. Madanika initiated Cakrabhanu, known as Bhanuka as well, and his teachings reached Abhinavagupta through Udbhata, the disciple of Ujjata. This Udbhata should not be confused with the author of *Udbhatalankara* who was the chairman of the council of King Jayapida (800 AD.). Abhinavagupta mentions the name of Udbhata in *Tantraloka* among his teachers. Apabhramasa passages quoted

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by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrasara* and *Paratrisikavivarana* may have been taken from the writings of any of the three female disciples of Sivanandanatha. Such female teachers may have, according to the ancient tradition, preferred the language of common people to Sanskrit, the language of only the educated class of society in such use.

Teachers of Krama System

Some of the twelve Kalis have been eulogised in *cidgagana-candrika*, a very beautiful and effective philosophic lyric by some philosopher poet named *Srivatsa*, as he calls himself. The name of the poet was wrongly taken and announced by the first editor of the lyric as Kalidasa and he is still being taken as Kalidasa by Pandits, authors and research scholars. The poet meant to say that he was a servant of Kali, the Divine Mother and says in clear terms that the poem was composed by 'Srtvatsa.' He must have been a practitioner of Krama system. Another such philosopher poet is Siddhanatha. He also wrote such a hymn under the title *Kramastotra* and Abhinavagupta wrote a commentary named *Kramakeli* on it. Both have been lost since long, but Jayaratha has preserved fourteen verses of *Kramastotra* and a few pages of *Kramakeli* as quotations given by him in his commentary on *Tantraloka*. Abhinavagupta wrote himself a *Kramastotra* which is available even now. Names of several works on the system have been mentioned in some commentaries on some important works on Kashmir Saivism, e.g. *Krama-Sadbhava*, *Kramarahasya*, *Kulakramodaya*, *Kramasutra* etc.

Ramakantha

A scholar named Narayana came to Kashmir from Kannauj and settled here probably in the time of Lalitaditya (8th century). Muktakana was one of his descendents who became a member of the royal association of scholars during the reign of Avantivarman (9th Century). A younger brother of Muktakana was Ramakantha who was a disciple of Utpala-

deva. Two important works from his pen are available at present. One of them is *Spanda-vivrti* which explains *Spandakarika* of Bhatta Kallata in accordance with the brief *Vrtti* written by the author himself. His *Vivrti* presents the traditional interpretation of *Spandakarika*. It appears from his Work that he was not only a *scholar of* great ability but was also a meritorious practitioner of Saiva Yoga of the Trika system. Another work by him is his commentary on Bhagavadgita, named Sarvatobhadra. Two of the main characteristics of it are quite remarkable. Firstly, it explains the text of Gita with the help of Gita itself. It interprets the controversial terms of Philosophy and theology, occurring in Bhagavadgita, in accordance with the sense carried by them in the Gita itself. That is the method adopted originally by Yaska in interpreting doubtful and difficult words in *Veda-mantras*. Secondly, the commentary concerned is not overburdened with the principles of different schools of philosophy, nor does it carry away a reader by means of references to and quotations from other *Sastras*. Besides one more special characteristic of the commentary is the text of Bhagavadgita. Ramakantha follows its Kashmirian text which was prevalent at that time in the northern recension of Mahabharata. The Southern text of Bhagavadgita was *imported to* Kashmir in the later part of the fifteenth century. It was brought into the valley by those Pandits of Kashmir who, having fled the Valley during the rule of Sikandar, were rehabilitated there by Zainulabadin. An earlier commentator, Bhagavad-bhaskara, also followed the northern text of Bhagavadgita and so did Abhinavagupta in the tenth century. The interpretation of Ramakantha dispels many doubts that rise on account of some apparent contradictions in Bhagavadgita e.g., criticism of Vedas in II-45, 46; stating yoga as higher to Jnana (III-46) Lord Krishnas taking refuge in the feet of some deity other than him (XV-1); time of death resulting in liberation and bondage (VIII-23 to 25) and so on. The time of Ramakantha is the later part of the ninth century.

Bhatta Bhaskara

The most ancient commentary available at present on Sivasutra is the *Siva-sutra-vartika* of Bhatta Bhaskara. He belonged to the seventh upper step in the line of the teachers of Saivism starting from Vasugupta. His interpretation of Sivasutra is the traditional one, come down to him through an unbroken line of teachers. He states to have been the son of Bhatta Divakara and that tempts scholars to think that he may have been Bhatta-Divakaravatsa whose Vivekanjana and Kaksyastotra have been quoted by Abhinavagupta and Yogaraja. But since a verse from Kasyastotra has been quoted by Ramakantha in his *Spandavivrti*, Bhatta Divakaravatsa must have been an ancient philosopher poet belonging to the earlier part of the 9th century. On the other hand, Bhatta Bhaskara may have belonged to a far later age as the fourth scholar in the line of his teachers was Bhatta Pradyunma, who was older than Somananda (9th century). Bhatta Bhaskara may have thus belonged to the middle of the tenth century A.D. Abhinavagupta, while paying respect to his teachers in his *Tantraloka*, makes a mention of some Bhaskara among them and it is highly probable that such teacher of the great philosopher may have been this author of *Sivasutravartika*. Bhatta Bhaskara gives a brief introduction to the subject matter of each sutra before providing its interpretation in verses called *vartikas*. He alone has given some items of particular information about Sivasutra. Firstly, he says that the work Sivasutra contained four parts, while at present all the recensions of the work have only three parts. Abhinavagupta quotes in his *Isvara-partyabhijnnavivrtivimar'sini* (vol. II, p. 301) a sutra of Siva which is not found in any of the available texts of the work. It is therefore possible that the Sutra concerned may have been taken from its fourth part, which is not available now. Ksemaraja also quotes some Sutras of Siva which can have belonged to that fourth part of the work (Sp. S, p. 25). Bhatta Bhaskara says further that Bhatta Kallata composed *Spandasutra* to explain the matter contained in the first three parts of Sivasutra and wrote a commentary named *Tattvarthacintamani* on the fourth part of

the work. Quotations from *Tattvarthacintamani* are available in the works of Ksemaraja and Utpala Vaisnava, but the work itself has been lost. Abhinavagupta also mentions the name of that important commentary on Sivasutra. Besides, he mentions another commentary on it by Bhatta Kallata and the name of such commentary was, in his words, *Madhuvahini*.

Ksemaraja, an author belonging to the eleventh century, tried to find new interpretations to the Sutras of Siva and to *Spandakarika* but Bhaskara, being highly devoted to the teachings of his preceptors, adhered to the traditional interpretation, come down to him through an unbroken line of preceptors. His Vartika is thus of immense importance though it has not so far become popular for want of a detailed commentary. The Vartika is itself very brief at many places. But if a scholar dives deep in the theology of Kashmir Saivism, he will find the interpretation by Bhaskara as much more appropriate than that by Ksemaraja. Bhaskara appears to have been a highly successful practitioner of Saiva yoga, having a direct intuitional experience of the principles of the theory and the doctrines of practice of Kashmir Saivism as contained in Sivasutra. There are a few minor variations in the text of Sivasutra as followed by Bhatta Bhaskara and Ksemaraja.

Utpala-Vaisnava

Spandakarika of Bhatta Kallata bears several commentaries and the most scholarly one among them is the *Spandapradipika* of Utpala Vaisnava. He is called vaisnava on account of his having ardent faith in Pancaratra Vaisnavism and also to differentiate him from the great Utpaladeva, the author of *Isvarapratyabbijna*. As he has said in his *Pradipika*, he was the son of Trivikrama, living at Naraynasthana, the modern Nore in Tral area of the Valley. He was a highly well read scholar and his commentary on *Spandakarika* is a treasure of historical information about many unknown and controversial points. For instance:

1. He says in clear terms that Spandakarika was com-

- posed in about fifty couplets by Bhatta Kallata though secret doctrines of Spanda were learnt by him from his preceptor, Vasugupta.
2. He alone provides information regarding some other works by Bhatta Kallata. e.g., *Tattvavicara* and *Svasvabhava-sambodhana*.
 3. He alone gives information about Siddhnatha as having been the author of *Abhedarthakarika* as well.

As has been already said above, this Utpala was basically a Vaisnava of the Pancaratra sect. He quotes profusely from many scriptures of that school and tries his utmost to establish that the Pancaratra system of Vaisnavism was in no way inferior in merit to the Trika system of Saivism. He quotes Vaisnava scriptures just to prove parallelism between them and Spandakarika. He tried thus to raise the respect of the scriptures of his faith in the eyes of scholars by trying to bring them up to a similarity with the famous work of Bhatta Kallata whose importance as a *siddha* (a perfect being) and a scholar was thoroughly established in the Valley. Some scholars feel that this Utpala may have switched over to Saivism with the help of a special rite called *Lingoddhara*, but a thorough study of his Spanda-pradipika reveals clearly that he was definitely a staunch adherent of *Pancaratra* Vaisnavism but, being a great scholar, was highly impressed by *Spandasastra* of Bhatta Kallata. Trying his utmost to elevate the Pancaratra system to the position equal to that enjoyed by Spanda-sastra, he reminds a reader about the remarks made by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantraloka* (T.A. xiii 316-320) against such adherent followers of lower systems of philosophy who try to mix up Saivism with any lower system of practice, especially that of theology.

Utpala Vaisnava, being a highly well read scholar of all the subjects of study, prevalent in his time, would in no case have ignored all the works of Abhinavagupta, but would have immensely quoted from them if he had appeared after him. Therefore he shall have to be placed some time before that great author. But, having mentioned Siddhanatha, he

can not be pushed to any far ancient age because, as recorded by Prthvidhara in his *Bhuvanesvaristotra*, Siddharatha and Sambhunatha were two names of one and the same siddha who may have, most probably, been the great preceptor of Abhinavagupta. Utpalavaisnava can thus be placed between Sambhunatha and Abhinavagupta. Thus says Prthvidhara:

Sri Siddhanatha karunakra Sambhunatha;
Sri Sambhunath Karunakra Siddhanatha. (Bh. St. 40)

श्री सिद्धनाथ करुणाकर शम्भुनाथ,

श्री शम्भुनाथ करुणाकर सिद्धनाथ । (भु० स्तो० 40)

The work of Utpala Vaisnava is thus of high importance though it does not contribute anything new to the Trika system of Kashmir Saivism.

Abhinavagupta II

Abhinavagupta mentions the names of some of his disciples in his *Tantraloka* and his cousin Abhinava is one among such disciples. It is probably that Abhinava who wrote *Tantravatadhanika* which is a gist of *Tantrasara* of Abhinavagupta I. It is not the work of the famous Abhinavagupta because firstly, its general character does not suggest it to be his work, secondly, it does not hint towards *anubandha-catustaya* and thirdly, the colophones in it mention the author as *Abhinavagupta-visesa*. Besides, its composition is neither so scholarly nor so artistic as to be a work of the great Abhinavagupta. It presents a clear outline of the system of Trika Sadhana as given in *Tantrasara*.

Ksemaraja

Just as GangeSa gave a new turn to the style of Indian logic from simplicity towards complexity and from clarity towards obscurity, so did Ksemaraja do with Kashmir Saivism. Abhinavagupta had already carried it to the climax of clarification and had not left any important stone unturned in the

fields of its theory and practice, so much so that Ksemaraja did not find any scope to impress his ability as a scholar and a writer on the great pandits of the age. Besides, all other disciples of Abhinavagupta were so much interested in tasting the sweet experiences of self realization that they did not diverge from such course to devote themselves to academic activities. None among them may have bothered to become an all round scholar. Ksemaraja was thus the only one among them who could be proud of being a scholar and a writer. Finding it difficult to get himself established as a meritorious writer by means of making things clear, he chose to make them complex and unintelligible. Similar policy was adopted by Bharavi to Indian poetry after Kalidasa had carried it to the climax of evolution.

Besides, Ksemaraja appears to have been jealous of the popularity of Bhatta Kallata whose admirers must not have appreciated his ways of complex academic activity. Abhinavagupta shows profound respectfulness whenever he mentions Bhatta Kallata, but Ksemaraja refers to him disrespectfully in singular number and without any epithet showing respect. Some times he refers to him as 'Kascit.' On account of such jealousy, Ksemaraja tried to overshadow Bhatta Kallata by means of finding out new interpretations to *Sivasutra* and *Spandakarika*. He is the only author of Saivism who possessed such tendencies towards ancient teachers like Bhatta Kallata. His commentary on *Spandakarika* contains an additional couplet which provides a hint towards the authorship of Vasugupta with respect to Karika and he says in clear terms that the Karika was written by Vasugupta himself. That is just to deprive Bhatta Kallata of the credit of such authorship. Such additional couplet does not exist in the text of either *Spandavitti* by Kallata or *Spanda-vivrti* by Ramakantha, a younger contemporary of the author of the Karika. It appears that Abhinavagupta was aware of such tendencies in Ksemaraja and did not approve of them. It was perhaps on such account that he did not mention the name of Ksemaraja anywhere while naming his disciples in several works like *Tantraloka*.

Ksemaraja is proud of having been a grand disciple of Abhinavagupta. It should therefore have been his duty to

write illucidative commentaries on his important works. He did not do it, with the result that *Malinivijaya-vartika* and *Tantrasara* do not even now bear any commentary, *Paratrisika-vtvarana* has not been clarified by means of notes and the colossal task of writing a detailed commentary on *Tantraloka* remained pending till the twelfth century when Jayaratha filled such a big gap. In stead Ksemaraja wrote many commentaries on works of minor importance and composed independent works in a complex and unintelligible style to show his all round scholarship and his ability as a wonderful writer.

Abhinavagupta mentions the name of one of his cousins simply as Ksema, using the word Gupta at the close of the *dvandva* compound grouping together five of them as "*Kse-motpalabhinava cakraka-padma-guptah*." Some scholars of the present age identify this Ksemagupta with Ksemaraja. All the five of them have Gupta as their surname, while Ksemaraja did not have it. He belonged to that family of learned teachers which had already produced scholars like Bhutiraja, Helaraja, Induraja, Adityaraja etc. and was in fact quite different a person from Ksemagupta. Ksemaraja composed the works listed below -

1. *Pratyabhijnanahrdaya*, a work in sutra style explained by the means of a detailed commentary. It deals with a few fundamental principles of Saiva monism mixing the topics of theory with those of practice in such a way as to create an awe in the minds of readers who take it as something extraordinarily mysterious and profound in character.
2. *Spanda-sandoha* is a brief work discussing the Spanda principle of Saivism, as expressed in *Spanda-karika*.
3. *Spandanirnaya* is a detailed commentary on *Spanda-karika*, giving some new interpretations to some of its couplets and arranging the division of its chapters differently.
4. *Parapravesika* is a small and easy work on monistic Saivism and can serve as a very useful textbook fit for beginners.

5. The most important work from his pen is *Sivasutra-Vimarsini*. That work also betrays the same tendency of giving fresh interpretations and disagreeing with previous commentators. Ksemaraja names the three chapters of Sivasutra as *Sambhava*, *Sakta* and *Anva upayas*, which is not borne out by their contents. Varieties of *Sakta* and *Anva Upayas*, as discussed by Abhinavagupta, are not at all contained in the 2nd and the 3rd chapters of Sivasutra. The headings given to them by Bhatta Bhaskara are quite appropriate. Ksemaraja does not take as great pains to explain the profound doctrines contained in the Sutras as he takes to show his all round scholarship by quoting passages from many other philosophic works. It is the Vartika of Varadaraja which makes it clear as to what Ksemaraja intended to say through his *Vimarsini* with respect to many sutras of Siva. The Vartika of Bhatta Bhaskara is much more appealing than the *Vimarsini* of Ksemaraja with respect to general outlook as well as the interpretation of many sutras in which these differ.
- 6 & 7. Commentaries on *Svacchanda* and *Netra Tantras*.
- 8 to 10. Commentaries on Stotra works like (i) *Sivastotravali* of Utpaladeva, (ii) *Stavacintamani* of Bhatta Narayana and (iii) *Samba-Pancasika* and the commentary on Vijnana-bhairava, only a few pages of which are available. He wrote some stotras which are not available.

Varadaraja (11th Century)

Madhuraja was that disciple of Abhinavagupta who, having come from such a far away land as Kerala, stayed in his school for several years and described both the school and the master in Kavya style in his *Gurunatha-paramarsa*. His son Varadaraja also came to Kashmir and learnt Kashmir Saivism from Ksemaraja. He composed another *Vartika* on *Sivasutra* which renders help in understanding the Vima-

rsini of Ksemaraja. Varadaraja follows naturally his teacher Ksemaraja in his general outlook on the Sutras of Siva and in their interpretation, both of which are different from those of Bhatta Bhaskara.

Yogaraja (11th Century)

Paramarthasara of Abhinavagupta is a very good text book of Kashmir Saivism. *Parapravesika* touches just the fundamental principles of that philosophy but *Paramarathasara* throws light on most of its essential topics. Yogaraja, a disciple of Ksemaraja, wrote a detailed commentary on it. That commentary is scholarly in its character and helps a lot in grasping many philosophic principle of Kashmir Saivism.

Jayaratha

Several scholars had written notes on *Tantraloka* and the most prominent one among such writers was Subhatadatta, who taught *Tantraloka* to both Jayaratha and his teacher Kalyana, who was, most probably, the same poet as Kalhana, the famous author of *Rajatarangini*. Jayarath was a great scholar having done all round study of the subjects being studied in his time. Besides, he was a practitioner of Saivayoga and was well versed in the practices of Trika, Kula and Krama systems. On such account of his matchless scholarship and well done practice in Tantric *sadhana*, he took the courage to write a detailed commentary on such a colossal work on the Trika system of philosophy, theology and ritual, as the *Tantraloka* of Abhinavagupta. His commentary on that important work is named *Viveka*. It serves even now as the most essential aid in the study of *Tantraloka*, though it is not quite clear about several points and topics. Some esoteric topics of practice, like *mantras* have not been fully explained in it because such was the policy of the teachers of Tantrism right from its start.

In addition to its being a guide to the study of *Tantraloka*, the *Viveka* by Jayaratha is a storehouse of historical information regarding Kashmir Saivism. The history of the

appearance and spread of *Kali-upasand* of *Krama-system* has been provided to us only in that commentary of Jayaratha on *Tantraloka*. *Kramakeli* of Abhinavagupta has been lost but its several pages have been preserved by Jayaratha in it in a long quotation. Many scriptural and philosophic works by ancient authors are known to us only through that commentary by Jayaratha. Quotations of sufficient lengths from many Saiva Agamas have been given in it at many places. Many authors and important works on Saiva monism would have remained unknown had not Jayaratha provided information about them. Much of the practical side of Kashmir Saivism would have remained quite obscure if such a commentary by Jayaratha would not have survived the great destruction of Sanskrit literature in Kashmir in the first part of the fifteenth century under the rule of Sultan Sikandar.

Vamakesvarimata, another work by Jayaratha, dealing with some typical *Tantric* practices, is also available. Both he and his brother Jayadratha wrote jointly a Puranic work on Saiva ritual with respect to religious traditions of the domestic aspect of Saivism. Such work is *Haracarita-cintamani*. They lived at Vijayapura, the modern Bejbehara, in the twelfth century. He is the most important post-Abhinavagupta author of Kashmir Saivism.

Virupaksanatha

A semi-mythological work on monistic Saiva philosophy, named *Virupaksa-pancasika* is ascribed to some *siddha* named Virupaksanatha. It deals with certain very important doctrines and principles of Saiva monism and bears a commentary by some Sanskrit scholar who gives his name as *Vidyacakra-varti*, and mentions the name of Govindacandra as his patron. Such name may have been the title conferred on him by Govindacandra, the father of Vijacandra and grandfather of Jayacandra of Kannauj who was the patron of the great Sanskrit poet Sriharsa as well.

The commentator may have lived in the Gangetic plane about the 12th century A.D. The special technique of Virupaksanatha in discussing some topics of Saiva monism

is strictly his own. Though he does not follow the path of the previous authors in such regard, yet the essence of his views on the principles and doctrines of Saiva monism are not at all different.

Sivopadhyaya

The last important ancient writer on Kashmir Saivism is Sivopadhyaya who wrote a detailed and scholarly commentary on *Vijnanabhairava*, a Tantric text dealing with some esoteric and mysterious practices in Trika yoga of Kashmir Saivism. He lived in the eighteenth century and wrote during the rule of Sukhajivan, a governor of Kashmir under the Pathans of Kabul. His commentary on *Vijnanabhairava* is very helpful in understanding many doctrines of Saivayoga though his explanations of some practices are not quite satisfactory. He was a very prominent teacher and preceptor of his age and the lines of his disciples are still going on in Kashmir. One more work written by him is *Snvidya* which brings about a synthesis of the monistic Saivism and the Upanisadic Vedanta. It lies in manuscript form.

Kaula Authors

Some ancient authors of Kaulism are enjoying popularity with the Saivas of Kashmir even now and the manuscripts of their works were found at Srinagar in good numbers. The earliest one among such writers is Sitikantha belonging to the thirteenth century. Following a Tantric text named *Vamakesvarimata*, he composed a work named *Mahanayapra-kasa* in Kashmirian Apabhramsa language, spoken there by the common man in that age. He added to it a commentary in Sanskrit. That work is of a greater interest to a linguist than to a student of philosophy. The most important one among such Kaulas who adopted Saiva monism as their philosophy, is Mahesvarananda of Cola country in the far South. He composed a work named *Maharthamanjari* in Maharastra Apabhramsa and wrote a detailed commentary named *Parimala*, on it in Sanskrit. An abridged edition

of *Maharthamanjari-parimala* enjoyed popularity in Kashmir and was published at Srinagar. The complete Parimala is popular among pandits throughout India. Mahesvarananda was a great yogin and a master of the Kaula system of practical Saivism. His Parimala is also a storehouse of information regarding many works and authors of Tantric Saivism. According to the editor of the Parimala, Mahesvarananda belonged to the fourteenth century.

Svatantranandanatha is another Kaula author who wrote *Matrika-cakra-viveka*. He applied complete *svatantrya* (independence) to his art of writing a *sastra* and composed the above work quite in accordance with his own independent technique and method, mixing up principles of philosophy with the divine visions, roused by the practice of Tantric yoga. The main subject dealt with in his work is the worship of the divine powers of God visualized as deities stationed in Sricakra, the symbol of the whole complex phenomenal existence. Many subtle ideas about the philosophic principles of Saiva monism have been expressed in it through a wonderful ability in diction. The work bears a commentary but, unfortunately, the commentator happens to be a Vedantic and not a Tantric Saiva. Therefore certain points have been missed and certain have been confused with Vivartavada in it. Svatantrananda Natha may have probably been a Maharastrian. The manuscripts of his work have not been found in Kashmir.

Punyanada is another Kaula author of Saivism. He wrote *Kamakala-vilasa* to explain the symbolic significance of *Sricakra*. The worship of Sricakra was prevalent among Saivas from the most ancient ages. Sage Durvasas discussed the theological essence of *Sricakra* through the medium of charming poetry in his *Lallti-stava-ratnam*. Amrtananda, a disciple of Punyanada, wrote a commentary on *Kamakala-vilasa*. Either he or his teacher Punyanada wrote a small work on the philosophy of Saiva monism under the title *Cidvilasa*. Amrtananda's commentary, named *Dipika* on *Yoginihrdaya*, a Tantric text, is another storehouse of references and quotations and is therefore very valuable from historical point of view. Vatulanatha is another such author

who wrote a small work named *Vatulanatha-Sutra*. It cannot be said with certainty as to which country did such Nathas belong. Some of them have been popular with the Saivas of Kashmir and their works in manuscript form have been found in good numbers at Srinagar. *Varivasyarahasya* of Bhaskara-
raya of the far South is also such a work on Saktic sadhana of Saiva monism. Kashmir produced a very important Kaula author in the time of Shahi-jahan. He was Sahib Kaula Anandanatha who roamed in Indian planes during the reign of Aurangazeb and stayed for a considerable time at Jodhpur in the court of Jasvant Singh. He is remembered even now by Saktas at Jodhpur. His *Devinama-vilasa*, a long poetical work, praises the Mother Goddess in one thousand verses, each verse eulogizing Her in one of Her thousand names. Its style is, like that of many other later Sanskrit poems, sufficiently laboured and artificial and the verses are rather difficult to understand. Many of his other works are lying still unpublished.

Recent Writers

Bhaskara Kantha, a scholar of Srinagar, wrote a commentary named Bhaskari in order to explain the *Vimar-sini* of Abhinavagupta on the *I'svarapratyabhijna* of Uppala-deva. It helps a lot in understanding the essence of the philosophical discussions with respect to controversies between Buddhism and Saivism and explains the highly logical arguments of Abhinavagupta on many points of philosophy. But, inspite of his efficiency in the study of Saivism, Bhaskaranatha did not grasp the exact sense of the discussions and arguments at several places where he made amendments to the text of *vimarsini* for the sake of his convenience. The text of *vimarsini*, as published in Bhaskari, requires many corrections in the light of the study of *Vivrti-Vimarsini*. The text of *Vimarsini*, as published in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, is comparatively correct, though it also contains some mistakes basically committed by scribes who transcribed ancient manuscripts. Bhaskara Kantha appeared towards the close of the Mughal rule in Kashmir.

His grandson, Manasaram, popularly known as Manas-razdan, attained prominence during the Pathan rule. Being disgusted with their tyranic administration, he left Kashmir and settled finally at Kiladar in Wazirabad area of Punjab and attained great fame in the country as a Saint scholar. His asrama and temple at Kiladar are still maintained by local Muslims as its Hindu priests and managers had to leave the place in 1947 when Pakistan was established as a separate country. Mansaram composed a fresh work on Saivism under the title *Svatantryapipika* in sutra style and added a Sanskrit commentary to it. It has not been published by any publisher so far but is available in manuscript form. The tradition of writing of commentaries and fresh works on Saivism continues still in Kashmir. *Svatantryadarpana*, a fresh work in couplets in the Arya metre, along with explanatory notes in Sanskrit, composed by the author of the work in hand, has been recently published by Ranbir Vidyapeetha of the Central Government of India at Jammu, Its English edition is also going to be published in the near future. But the rapid and drastic socio-economic changes, brought about by quick democracy, have now shaken the small community of the Pandits of Kashmir. Therefore the traditions of teaching and learning, as also of activities in some meaningful research on Saivism, are now fastly coming to a close in the Valley. The ashram of Swami Laksman jee is now there the only centre of propagation of the subject which is still doing some useful service in its own way. Some Sanskrit institutions at some centres of Sanskrit learning like Varanasi should now encourage and patronise Kashmir Saivism, so that the tradition of the sweet and divine light of its teaching and learning is saved from a total extinction.

CHAPTER VIII

Saiva Nagarjuna

Several great persons under the name Nagarjuna appeared in our country. The most prominent one among them is the famous teacher of the *Madhyamika* school of Buddhism who lived in the South and stayed in Kashmir for some years about the time of the fourth Buddhist conference arranged there by Kaniska. It is on such account that Kalhana took him as a *bodhisattva* belonging to Kashmir and living at Sadarhadvana, the modern Harvan.

Next famous Nagarjuna is the master of Indian medicinal chemistry whose several works on the subject are known. The third famous Nagarjuna is an important teacher of *Vajrayana* school of Tantric Buddhism. Saraha, alias Rahulabhadra, was a Buddhist monk of the *Vijnanavada* school who learnt Tantric *sadhana* of Kaula system from some Tantric teacher in the line of Macchandanatha of Assam. He practised it well and attained sufficient success in its practice. After that he presented it as a mystic school of Buddhism. He took great care in eliminating two fundamental principles of Kaula Saivism and those are (i) the principle of theism and (ii) the principle of the existence of Atman as a permanently existing controller of the flux of momentary mind. Besides, he translated all the technical terms of Kaulism into Buddhist terminology and presented Tantric Kaulism in such a way that it appeared as a school of Buddhism. Such efforts of Saraha were afterwards taken up by a monk in the line of his disciples and the name of that monk also was Nagarjuna who built further the *Vajrayana*

of Saraha and carried it to a climax of development. His followers are still living in great number in Tibet and Mangolia and their Vajrayana Buddhism is known at present as Lamaism.

Kashmirian folklore has one more Nagarjuna, a hero belonging to some Naga tribe who fell in love with an Aryan damsel named Himal. This Nagarjuna is popularly known as Nagiray. A Kashmirian poet uses the name Nagiarzun for him. He does not have any importance in the fields of philosophy or theology but is popular in folk lore and poetry.

The greatest in merit is one more Nagarjuna who is even now known very little to scholars and is totally unknown to public. He is Saivacharya Nagarjuna. If the Madhyamika Nagarjuna is highly advanced in subtle logic and if the Vajrayanin Nagarjuna has extensive works to his credit, this forgotten Saiva Nagarjuna is much more definite about the nature of the ultimate reality, realized directly by him through the highest type of yogic experiences. Both the Buddhist Nagarjunas teach the truth as revealed to them in the state of *Susupti*, an extremely dreamless sleep, and this Saiva philosopher expresses it as it shines in the fourth state of animation known as *Turya*, the state of intuitive self-revelation. His works reveal him to be a Saiva philosopher belonging to the school of monistic Saivism of Kashmir. Two beautiful philosophic lyrics from his pen are available at present and those are *Paramarcana-trimsika* and *cittasantosa-trimsika*.

There was a tradition among Saiva-Sakta philosophers to express philosophy through the medium of poetry. Three hymns of such type are attributed to sage Durvasas and those are -(i) *Para-sambhu-mahima-stotra*, (ii) *Lalita-stava-ratna*, and (iii) *Tripara-mahima-stotra*. *Cidgagan-acandrika* of Srivatsa, alias Kalidasa, and *Kramastotra* of Siddhanatha alias Sambhunatha, are two more such works. *Subhagodaya* of Gandapada and *Saundaryalahari* of Sankaracharya as well as *Pancastavi* of Dharmacharya show that these philosophers also adhered to Saiva/Sakta traditions in their practice.

Some very prominent teachers of Kashmir Saivism

expressed subtle and profound philosophic principles through an appealing technique of poetic medium. The most important works of such type are: *Stavacintamani* of Bhatta Narayana, *Tattvagarbhastotra* of Bhattapradyumna and *Sivastotravali* of Utpaladeva. Abhinavagupta composed several beautiful works of such type and the important ones among them are: *Anubhava-nivedana-stotra*, *Anuttarasttika*, *Bhairavastotra*, *Dehastha-devata-cakra-stotra* and *Kramastotra*. *Sivajiva-dasaka* of Sahib Kaula is another very important lyric of such type. The above mentioned two lyrics of Saiva Nagarjuna also are two highly beautiful poetic works of that very type. These are highly sweeter than any other such work.

No quotations from either of these two lyrics of Nagarjuna are available in any work of any ancient Kashmirian author of Saivism. The only quotation that has so far been traced by the writer of these lines is a verse from *Paramarcana-trimisika* and has been quoted by Mahesvarananda in his *Parimala* on his own *Mahartha-manjari* and that quotation is:

बालिकारचितवस्त्रपुत्रिजा-क्रीडनेस सुदृशं तदर्चनम् ।
यत्र शाम्यति मनो न निर्मलं स्फीतचिज्जलधिमध्यमाश्रितम् ॥
Balika-racita-vastra putrika-
Kridanena sadrsam tadarcanam;
Yatra samyati mano na nimalam
Sphita-cijjaladhi-madhyamasritam. (P. Tr. I)

The editor of that work has tried to prove that Mahesvarananda flourished in the fourteenth century A.D. The time of Saiva Nagarjuna may have been the thirteenth century. Had it been still earlier he would have been surely quoted by Utpala Vaisnava in the tenth century or by Jayaratha in the twelfth. Nothing can however be said definitely on such a point at present.

As for the domicile of this Saiva Nagarjuna, some people think that he lived in Kashmir because: (i) the manuscripts of his poems were found at Srinagar, and (ii) his philosophic ideas agree with those of Kashmir Saivism. But *Pancastavi* of Dharmacharya is popular in Kashmir though

he belonged to Kerala. *Maharthamanjari* of Mahasvararianda agrees with the principles of Kashmir Saivism but the author lived in Cola country. This Nagarjuna is still known very little even in Kashmir. A new fact has recently come to the notice of the writer of these lines in this respect. There is a sacred place of worship near the temple of Sri Jwalamukhl in Kangra which is known as the place of *Siddha-Nagarjuna*. Kangra was an important centre of Saiva-Sakta learning and was famous under the name '*Jalandhara pitha*', one of the four main centres of Saktism. A great master of Kula and Trika systems of Saivism lived at Jalandharapitha in the tenth century. He was the great teacher Sambhunatha, who was the greatest living authority on these two systems of practical Saivism. Abhinavagupta refers to his authority on the secrets of Triks sadhana in his *Tantraloka* not less than twentytwo times while giving decisions on some controversial topics. He has been referred to as the moon that raises tides in the ocean of Trika Sastra "*Trikarthambhodhi-candramah*", It is highly probable that the Saiva Nagarjuna was a teacher in the line of the disciples of Sambhunatha and lived at Kangra. People of Kangra, having forgotten even the name of such a great philosopher as Sambhunatha, do not know anything about this Saiva Nagarjuna, but the place of worship, known under his name, suggests beyond doubt that he practised Saiva yoga and attained remarkable success in its practice at the sacred place concerned.

The two hymns of Nagarjuna, being full of poetic beauty, can be classed with the best religio-philosophic lyrics. The language of the hymns is beautiful, simple and sweet. The poetic element in them is very effective and attractive and the philosophic element is not at all less in its importance. Each hymn contains thirty stanzas and an additional one which concludes it with a partial mention of the name of the poet philosopher. The colophones in both mention him as a "*Mahamahesvara Acarya Nagarjuna*".

Paramarcana-trimsika is a poetic description of the finest Saiva/Sakta method of realization of the self, by the self and through the self. It can be compared with the *Para-puja* of the Kaula system of Saktism, on one hand, and also with

the highest method of yoga of the Trika system of Kashmir Saivism, on the other hand. This fact strenghtense the inference aimed at proving his faith in the practical and theoretic aspects of Kashmir Saivism, because both Kaula and Trika systems of practice were popular with the Saivas of Kashmir right from the time of Bhatta Kallata. The merits and the wonderful results of that supreme worship (paramarcana) have been described vividly and variously and have at the same time been compared with tasteless and torturing practices in *Hathayoga* and Brahmanic penance. Such comparisons are highly poetical in their expression. The poem is composed in the metre named *Rathoddhata* upto the twenty-ninth stanza. The thirtieth is in *Vasantatilaka* metre and the concluding one is an *Anustubh*.

Cltta-Santosa-trimsika is composed in *Vasantatilaka*. Its thirtieth stanza is in *Harini* metre and the concluding one is an *Anustubh*. The hymn contains a poetic description of the state of *jivanmukti* attained through the perfect and correct realization of the real character of the self. It compares in various ways the blissfulness of that state with the miseries of the previous state of bondage and the comparisons drawn are philosophically quite accurate and poetically highly effective, and attractive. The poet addresses the verses of the hymn to his own mind and congratulates it joyfully on its having attained, beyond all expectations, what was really worthy to be attained.

There is no doubt in the fact that the author, Nagarjuna, belonged to the line of the teachers of the monistic school of Saivism known as the *Ardhatryambaka* school started by *Tryambakaditya* I through his daughter sometime in the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. and popularized highly by Sambhunanatha at the *Jalandhara-pitha* (Kangra) in the 10th century. It is on such account that both of his poems agree with the principles and doctrines of the Trika school of Saiva monism. Parallels can be found between the Stanzas of these two hymns of Nagarjuna, on one hand, and passages from some very important works on Kashmir Saivism, on the other hand. For instance, let us examine *Paramarcanatrimika*.

Verse No. 12, depicting the emotion of an absolute

wonder, experienced in *Para-puja*, can be compared with Sivasutra-I-12 and also with *Spandakarika-11*. A parallel to the verse No. 15, depicting the experience of the state of liberation, even while one indulges in wordly sensual activities, can be found in Mallni- vijaya-Vartika-ii-108-109. Verse No. 24, suggesting the pantheistic outlook of the author, agrees with the *Paradvalta* principle expressed in *Bodha-pancadasika-14* of Abhinavagupta. The twenty-eighth stanza, describing the attitude of a Sivayogin at the highest stage of *Sambhava-yoga*, agrees with the first two stanzas of *Anuttarastika* of the same author. The twenty-sixth stanza hints towards the *Saktipata* principle of Kashmir Saivism as expressed in *Mallni-vijaya-vartika* 1-697, 98. The eighth verse, depicting the power of a Sivayogin to swallow even the God of death, has parallels in *Bhairavastotra-4*, 5 of Abhinavagupta and in *Sivajiva-da'saka-5* of Sahib Kaula.

Similar agreements with works on Kashmir Saivism can be found in *Citta-santosa-trimsika* as well. For instance: Its fourth and fifth verses, depicting the view of an advanced Sivayogin with respect to objects of sensual enjoyment, agree with Malini-vijaya-vartika-I-108, 109 referred above. The sixth one, suggesting a criticism on some torturing and austere practices of monks and *hathayogins*, can be compared with *Sivastotravali-I-I*, 18 of Utpaladeva. The verse No. 11, depicting a viewpoint through which a yogin tastes his natural blissfulness even in some painful mundane experiences, agrees with the view of Utpaladeva as expressed by him in the same work-XX-12. The same can be observed with respect to the verse No. 24. The verse No. 26 hints towards a yogic practice of the Kaula system of Sivayoga and has a parallel in a passage of *Sri-rajika* quoted in *Mahanayaprakasa-p.* 55.

No trace of any principle or doctrine of any school of Buddhism can be found anywhere in any of these two hymns of this Saiva Nagarjuna. Some selected phrases from his poems, given below, strengthen his being a staunch Saiva aspirant:

- (i) Sivasangamotsavah (P. Tr. 3);
- (ii) Sivarcanam (Ibid-30);

- (iii) Sivabhaktibhjam, (Ibid 30);
- (iv) Para-niruttara-Saiva sampat (C.S. Tr.-14);
- (v) Svacchanda-Sankara-pade (Ibid-23).

The doctrines of practical Saivism, as hinted at in the two poems of this Saiva Nagarjuna, do neither agree with the austere and ridiculous practices of *Pa'supata* Saivas, nor with the formal and ritualistic methods of *Siddhanta* Saiva, nor with objective linga-worship of *Virasaivas*. The spontaneous and sweet yoga practices of this Nagarjuna agree fully with those of the Trika system and partly with Kaula system also, but do *not* have any agreement either with *Varna* or with *Daksina* systems of Tantric *Sadhana*.

Such fact strengthens further the view that the philosopher poet belonged to the Kashmirian school of Saiva monism because the teachers of that very school patronized only the Trika and Kaula systems of *Sadhana*.

CHAPTER IX

A Flash of Self Realization

Several systems of *Sadhana* (spiritual discipline) have been recognized in Saivism as paths leading to self-realization. The *Trika* and *Kaula* systems were popularly prevalent among the ancient teachers of Kashmir Saivism. Authors like Abhinavagupta, Somananda and Bhatta Kallata were masters of both Trika and Kula systems. The latest important Kashmirian master of Kaulism was Sahib Kaula Anandanatha who lived in the time of Shahejahan and Aurangazeb. His is a clear case of *Yoginidiksa*, an informal rite of initiation by some superior female deity resulting in a spontaneous revelation of the self in its purest and divine aspect.

When Sahib Kaula was just a boy he was blessed by the Lord by a sudden and spontaneous flash of the direct realization of his absolute Godhead through *Yoginidiksa*. Having thus realized suddenly his absolutely divine nature of Godhead, he turned at once into a poet of high merit and started to express his divine realization through the medium of a wonderfully beautiful poetry in Sanskrit language. His first verse in such context runs thus:

येनोत्कीर्णं विस्वचित्रं स्वाभित्तौ
नानावर्णैश्चित्तं येन भक्त्या ।
अन्ते स्वस्मिन् नृत्यते येन हृत्वा
सोऽहं साहिन्कोलकारामशम्भुः ॥

Yenotkirnam visvacitram sva-bhittau
Nana-varnais citritam yena bhaktya

Ante svasmin nrtyate yena hrtva
Soham Sahib-kaulakarama-Sambhuh

I, Sahib Kaula, alias Sahibrama, am that blissful Sambhu (Lord Siva the Absolute God) Who inscribed the figure of the whole universe on the wall of his own self, Who made it wonderful by means of various hues with a devote attention, and who finally performs the Tandava dance after absorbing it into His own self.

Recollecting his previous position of a living being in a physical form, he spoke thus:

कः त्विददेहः कस्यः देह क्व देहो
देही देहेनैव बद्धो न बद्धः ।
सोऽहं सम्भुविष्णुरर्को मणेशो
धाता शक्तिः सर्वशक्तिर्नमो मे ॥ 2 ॥

Kah svid dehah kasya dehah kva deho
Dehi dehenaiva baddho na baddhah
Soham Sambhur visnur Arko gneso
Dhata Saktih sarvasaktir namo me.

What is the body, where does it stand and to whom does it belong (When even a gross body also is the Lord Himself)? A soul, being bound by a body, is not really bound, (because there is no body but the Lord Himself appearing like that). As for me, I am myself Sambhu, Visnu, Sungod, Ganesa, Brahma, Sakti and (even) Almighty God Himself. Let all prostrations be therefore to me."

Depicting his present outlook on the functions of his psycho-physical set up he spoke thus:

नाहं जाने नैव कुर्वे न वेच्छा-
म्याविरर्भावं चेत्यचेत्यो न यामि ।
जाने कुर्वे स्वेच्छया स्वं परं स्वं
भावं भावं भावभावां नमो मे ॥ 3 ॥

Naham jane naiva kurve na veccha-
Myavirbhavam cetya-cetyo na yami;
Jane kurve svecchaya svam param svam
Bhavam bhavam bhava-bhavo namo me.

I neither know nor do nor desire anything (other than me) nor do I appear as an object of any (senses which are themselves) objects. But, by virtue of my own independent will, I know and do my own self and know and do everything other than me as my own self. Prostrations to myself, the very existence of each existent entity.

Declaring the all-pervasive absolute consciousness as his real nature he uttered thus:

जाग्रत्यां वा स्वप्नजायां दक्षायां
सोषुप्त्यां वा या चिदाभाति तुर्या ।
तामप्येतान् तिष्ठतेऽस्मा अतीत्य
सर्वस्मै मे सर्वभासे नमोऽस्तु ॥ 4 ॥

Jagratyam va svapnajayam dasayam
Sausuptyam va ya cidabhati turya;
Tamapyetam tisthatesma atitya
Sarvasmai me sarvabhase namostu.

I (as the transcendental reality) stand beyond even that pure consciousness of the fourth state (of revelation) which continues to shine in all the three states of waking, dreaming and sleeping. Prostrations to myself who is everything and through whose lustre everything shines.

Sahib Kaula, being as yet a boy of eight years in age and not having undergone any hardening practices of *Hatha-yoga*, did not then possess a sufficiently strong nervous system capable to contain and bear the great flood of divinely powerful spiritual force being suddenly experienced by him in such suddenly aroused flash of self-realization. He felt his physical body as failing to bear it and consequently collapsing under its heavy pressure. His reaction to the apprehension of the so called death urged him to utter the **fifth** verse:

मृत्युमृत्युमृत्युभाजां न मृत्यु-
मृत्युज्ञानां नैव जाता यतस्ते ।
सोऽहं मृत्युं चाप्यमृत्युं व्यतीत्य
भासे भासा मृत्युमृत्युर्नमो मे ॥ 5 ॥

Mrtyur mrtyur mrtyubbajam na mrtyur
Mrtyujnanam naiva jata yataste;
So'ham mrtyum capyamrtyum vyatitya
Bhase bhasa mrtyu-mrtyur namo me.

Death is death for only such people who believe to be undergoing it. It is not like that for them who realize its real essence, because in reality such people do not have any birth. As for me, I, transcending (the relative conceptions of) both death and immortality, am shining (eternally) by virtue of my own lustre. Prostrations to my self, the absorber of (even) the god of death.

Having uttered these five verses, the philosopher poet fainted, and coming back to his senses after a few hours, he uttered five more verses. The hymn created thus was named by him as *Slva-jiva-dasakam*, the first five verses of it having been uttered in a fit of Sivahood and the rest of it after coming back to his own jivahood. The eleventh verse contains hints towards the situations in which its both parts were uttered and the last one concludes it.

The next five verses have been uttered by the poet after having come back to his usual jivahood. The verse uttered just at the moment of his coming back to his senses is the next one. Discussing the phenomenon of death through it he spoke thus:

यच्चित्तेनामृष्टमेतद्विभाति
यन्नो तस्याभानमेवेह भानम् ।
नातो यैः सञ्चेतितो जन्मभाव-
स्तेषां मृत्युः कः क्व दृष्टः श्रुतः क्व ॥ 6 ॥

Yaccittenamrstam etad vibhati
Yanno tasyabhanameveha bhanam;
Nato yaih sancetito janma-bhavas
Tesam mrtyuh kah kva drstah srutah kva.

The way of knowing in this world is this: "A thing cognized by one's mind is (said to be) known and that not cognized is (said to be) not known. What can be accepted

as death for people who do not feel at all the reality of their birth? Where has any death for such people been seen or heard?

Note: A thing is being said to be existent only when it is known. He alone is beset with death who has undergone birth. A man possessing the correct knowledge of the basic nature of death and birth does not take them like that, but sees them as minor events in the process of the divine play of God. Therefore there is no death for him.

The next verse throws more light on the same topic of death:

चेत् संयोगो देहजो जन्मभाव-
स्तद्विच्छेदो मृत्युरित्येव वादः ।
तत् संयुक्ते वा वियुक्ते स्वबन्धौ
कस्तज्ज्ञानां हर्षशोकावतारः ॥ 7 ॥

Cet samyogo dehajo janma-bhavas
Tad-vicchedo mrtyur ityeva vadah
Tat samyukte va viyukte svabandhau
Kastajjnanam harsa-sokavataarah

If however the theory regarding death is put forth like this: "Union of a soul with a body is birth and its separation from that is death", then the answer is: "What occasion for pleasure or pain can there be for wise persons possessing right knowledge on the visits and departures of their near and dear"?

To refute all diversity and to establish absolute unity the philosopher poet uttered the eighth verse of the hymn:

कोऽहं कोऽहं यावदित्थं स्मरामि
सोऽहं सोऽहं तावदासं परोऽस्मि ।
स्यां चास्मृत्वा त्वामिमं मां च तं यं
स्वात्मा स्वात्मन्यस्मि शेषोऽहमेकः ॥ 8 ॥

Ko'ham ko'ham yavad ittham smarami
So'ham so'ham tavadasam paro'smi;
Syam casmrtva tvamimam mam ca tam yarn
Svatma svatmanyasmi seso'hamekah.

I was all along that very absolute reality even while I was thinking repeatedly (and inquisitively) as to "Who am I?" I am and can be only the supreme. Pushing all the relative conceptions like - you, this, I (in relative sense), he, who etc. into oblivion, I alone remain there myself in my own self (as the only undeniable entity).

Describing the apparent diversity as the manifestation of the playful will of the monistic self, he spoke out the ninth verse:

मत्तो भानं त्वन्मयं मन्मयं च
मत्तश्चेतत् साम्यमेवात्र भाति ।
भानं भानं चाप्यभानं च भानं
सोऽहं भामि प्राप्तभेदेकभावः ॥ ९ ॥

Matto bhanam tvanmayam manmayam ca
Mattas caitat samyamevatra bhati;
Bhanam bhanam capyabhanam ca bhanam
So'ham bhami prapta-bhedaika-bhavah.

The appearance of diversity in the form of yourself and myself is manifested by me. This presently appearing unity alone with respect to all phenomena is also manifested by me. *Prakasa* (the psychic light of consciousness), is both, pure (*Nirvikalpa*) and mixed (*Savikalpa*) knowledge and I am thus shining unitarily in all diversity.

Another sense carried by the third line: Appearing of some thing is *Prakasa* and its not appearing is also *Prakasa* because that also shines in the lustre of consciousness.

Describing awareness as the essence of all consciousness, he uttered the tenth verse:

भानं चेत् स्यान्निर्विमर्शं न तत्तत्
चेत् तद्रूपं तर्हि भेदो न योऽत्र ।
भारूपायाहं विमर्शात्मकाय
जीवायास्मै मे नमो वा शिवाय ॥ १० ॥

Bhanam cet syan nirvimarsam na tat tat
Cet tadrupam tarhi bhedo na yo'tra

Bharupayaham-vimarsatmakaya
Jivayasmai me namo va Sivaya.

If *Prakasa* the psychic light of consciousness, were devoid of *Vimarsa* (awareness), it could not have been *Prakasa*. When awareness is accepted as its essential nature, then the apparent phenomenal diversity is reduced to nothingness. Prostrations to me, having *Prakasa* as my form and *Vimarsa* as my nature and appearing myself either as soul or as God !

The next verse hints at the circumstances in which the first five and the last five of the above verses of the poem were uttered by the philosopher poet. He says:

देहे याते मृत्युकल्पामवस्थां
पञ्चश्लोकी केनचित् संस्मृतयेयम् ।
पञ्चश्लोकी प्राप्य संज्ञां कृतान्या
साहिबकौलारामस्वस्थेन (संस्थेन) भूयः ॥ 11 ॥

Dehe yate mrtyukalpam avastham
Panca-sloki kenacit samsmrteyam;
Panca-sloki prapya samjnam krtanya
Sahib-kaularama-svasthena bhuyah-

When the physical form of the poet had reached a state like that of death, the first five verses were aroused by some one (that is, by Lord Siva) in his memory. The other five of them were composed by Sahibrama Kaula after coming back again to his normal health.

Note: Since the first five verses were inspired by Siva and the last five were composed by the poet who was a worldly being, the poem was given the title as "Siva-Jiva-Dasakam".

The concluding verse describes the philosophic and theological merit of the hymn like this:

पञ्चितश्लोकीं देशिकेन्द्राद् विबुध्य
भूयो भूयः स्वात्मना संविमृश्य ।
जीवः प्राप्य स्वानुभूतिं विमुक्तो
लीयेतास्मिन् क्षामिन् नित्ये परे स्वे ॥ 12 ॥

Pankti-slokim daisikendrad vibudhya
Bhuyo bhuyah savatmana samvimrsya;
Jivah prapya svanubhutim vimukto
Liyetasmin dhamni nitye pare sve.

A (blessed) person, having learnt well the above ten *slokas* from an experienced preceptor and having himself contemplated *on* them again and again, can finally become merged into his eternal and blissful lustre of pure (and potent) consciousness after having attained self-realization and consequent liberation (from bondage).

इति श्री महामाहेश्वराचार्यवर्य-
साहिब कौलानन्दनाथविरचितं
शिवजीवदशकं
सम्पूर्णम्

Sivajiva dasaka, composed by Sri Sahib Kaula Anandanatha, the great and exalted teacher of Saivism, is thus completed.

Sri Harishvara Natha Tikku, a descendent of Sahib Kaula, gave me a transcript of the poem in 1947. I got it published with Hindi translation in the magazine of some government college in Kashmir. The same is now being published presently with translation and introduction in English. The history of the composition, as hinted at in the 11th verse of the hymn, was learnt by me from Sri Hanshvara Natha Tikku as well.

The self realization, inspired by some *yogini* in the head and heart of the boy Sahibrama, is a typical example of *Pratibha jnana* as discussed in detail in the 13th chapter of *Tantraloka*.

The poet wrote several works on Saivism. The most important one among them is *Kalpavrksha-prabandha*, a philosophic work written in the style of poetic prose. It is lying still in manuscript form.

The only work from his pen, which has undergone regular publication, is *Devinamavilasa*. It is a long poem

describing the mythological story lying behind the composition of *Bhavani-sahasranama-stuti*, a Tantric hymn dedicated to Mother goddess. His *Slva-jiva-dasakam* appeared once in a college magazine. He wrote a philosophic work entitled *Sacclananda-kandali*. His *Atma-caritam* in Kashmiri language is also lying in its manuscript form. He aims at an integration of the theistic absolutism of the Saivism of Kashmir with such theory of the Upanisadic Vedanta and, doing so, replaces the theory of *Vivarta* by that of *Svatantya*, while interpreting the latter philosophy. Many wonderful stories about his yogic and Tantic powers are being still heard at Srinagar and some other places in the Valley. He is the most important Kaula author of Kashmir upholding the absolute theism of the Saiva philosophy of the Trika system.

CHAPTER X

Saivism in Stotras

A tradition to express abstruse and mysterious philosophic principles through a sweet medium of poetry has been prevalent in India from the earliest ages of our civilization. It continued throughout our long history. Accordingly sage Durvasas, the traditional originator of the doctrines of the profound philosophy of Saiva monism, composed three such poems which are available even now and these are:

(i) *Parasambhu-mahimnastava*

It is a long lyrical poem written in thirteen small sections. Twelve among them are devoted to the expression of different theological themes and the last one concludes the whole poem. All the first twelve sections have been composed in *Sragdhara* metre and the last one in several metres. The first section of the poem is an introductory chapter of the whole work. The next four (2nd to 5th) are devoted to the praise of the Absolute God as the master of four of His primary divine powers called *Parasakti*, *Icchasakti*, *Jnanasakti* and *Krtayasakti* and describe Him in His different aspects of the outward manifestation of these divine powers. The sixth section praises Him as the master of *Kundalini Sakti*, the divine power that maintains His supreme Godhead, runs the universal cosmology, enables finite beings to conduct their functions of animation and leads them finally to self-realization through its upward and downward movements from the lowest centre of animation to the highest one situated inside

the spinal cord. The seventh section is devoted to the depiction of some profound and mysterious doctrines regarding the practice in the process of the direct realization of God through the esoteric system of *Matrka-yoga* of *Sambhava-upaya* of Kashmir Saivism. The eighth section of the poem hints towards the secrets of some six types of relations called *anvayas* with regard to the mysterious doctrines of Saivism. The topic of the section does not, however become quite clear. The ninth section praises God through the mythological accounts of the exploits of Lord Siva who is to be meditated upon in such aspect. The tenth section praises Him as the master of many *vibhutis* or divine abilities to create wonders. The eleventh one hints towards the essence of some secret doctrines of internal mental worship termed as *antarayoga*. The twelfth one suggests some secrets of the symbolism with regard to such worship of Siva through which an aspirant attains the position of that infinite and pure consciousness which can be compared to the motionlessness of a huge ocean.

This lengthy stotra of one hundred and fortyone verses does not bear any commentary and is therefore sufficiently difficult to understand. Besides, the language of the hymn is very old type of Sanskrit using occasionally such words as are not generally prevalent in classical Sanskrit and become intelligible only with the help of ancient Sanskrit dictionaries and grammatical works. The philosophic terminology used in the hymn appears to be so ancient that it does not become sufficiently clear in the light of the later development of Indian philosophy after the spread of Buddhism. It is, in fact, this hymn which was originally praised as "*Mahimno napara stutih*". Such praise was later applied by people to the stotra of the same name composed by Puspadanta which is popularly known throughout India, while the original hymn under such name is very little known even to scholars, not to say of common people. That hymn is not generally known even to Sanskritists.

2. Another poetic work by sage Durvasas is such hymn to the Mother Goddess and is named as *Tripuramahima stotra*. It bears a Sanskrit commentary by an ancient Tantric practitioner named Nityananda-natha. It has appeared several

times in print with translations in Tamil and Hindi as well. It is known to most of the adept Sakta aspirants at many places and is sung in the praise of Goddess Tripura, the divine power of the Almighty God, governing the three domains of unity, diversity and diverse-unity termed in Saivism as the planes of *Sakti*, *Maya* and *Vidya* respectively. It has been composed in *Sardula-vikridita* metre upto the fortieth stanza and in different metres from the forty-first to the fifty-sixth. A few stanzas are common between it and the above mentioned hymn to Para-Sambhu. The hymn to the Goddess throws light on Her worship with the help of three *bijamantras* named *Vagbhava*, *Kamaraja* and *Sakti-bija*. It alludes to many more doctrines of Saiva Sakta sadhana as well as to some very important philosophic principles of Saiva monism

3. The third hymn by sage Durvasas is his *Lalita-stava-ratna*. It describes the divine power of the Almighty God in its symbolic form of *Sricakra*, the Tantric diagram representing the whole existence in the form of intertwisted triangles and circles. The philosopher poet describes *Sricakra* symbolically as the mountain castle of gods, the Sumeruparvata, surrounded by several trenches and protection walls with many planes lying in-between and being governed by different deities of higher and lower status. The whole philosophy and theology, lying behind the worship of *Sriyantra*, has been expressed in the hymn through the medium of beautiful and charming poetry in about two hundred verses in *Arya* metre. Towards the close of the hymn the sage philosopher turns into a great poet capable to create a highly charming and effective poetry, shedding beauty on all sides through both its sound and sense. That portion of the poem is devoted to the wonderfully beautiful description of Almighty God as Lord *Kamesvara* and His divine power of absolute Godhead seated in His lap as *Lalita*, the personification of all tenderness and beauty; both seated on a beautifully decorated divine couch. Five super-gods, *Brahma*, *Visnu*, *Rudra*, *Isvara* and *Sadasiva* join together to take the form of such couch laid inside a palace made of *cintamani* jewels built within a garden of *kadamba* trees on a divine island of precious stones surrounded by a sea of nectar. The hymn is a

remarkable specimen of the highly developed aesthetics in Indian theology.

The descriptions of many other deities, wielding their authority at different planes of the universal phenomena represented by *Sriyantra*, are in no way less in their aesthetic beauty, though brief in form. For instance, the descriptions of the male deities of six seasons, accompanied by their female counterparts, *Visnu* the governor of three worlds, *Tara*, the deity in charge of carrying aspirants to the other bank of the ocean of the phenomenal existence, playing with her assistants with water sprayers in a beautiful boat sailing in a pond of nectar, and so on, are immensely beautiful, both in their sense and sound. Frequent use of figures of speech adds to the charm of the poem. *Lalita-stavaratna* of the sage poet is his best work when seen from the view-point of poetic beauty.

The hymn gives a fully detailed and highly comprehensive picture of the whole outline of the divine hierarchy of Tantric and Vedic deities of different status, wielding their authority at different levels of phenomenal existence, and presents it through the delightful medium of beautiful poetry. The theological principles lying behind the worship of *Sriyantra* become automatically clear through it without any taxing exertion of brain.

Bhatta Narayana

This philosopher poet belongs to the early period of the age of the evolution of Kashmir Saivism because he has been referred by Abhinavagupta as a *purvaguruh*. His work *Stavacintamani*, was commented upon by Ramakantha who lived in the middle of the 9th century and whom he must have preceded. Ksemaraja says at the close of his commentary on *Stavacintamani* that the author was the teacher of the teacher of Abhinavagupta and he can therefore be placed in the ninth century. His poetical work, *Stavacintamani*, is a philosophic eulogy offered to Lord Siva, the absolute God. It throws light on several philosophic principles of Saiva monism, especially on the theistic and monistic absolutism which was later developed philosophically by Somananda, Utpaladeva and

Abhinavagupta. His verses from *Stava-cintamani* have been quoted as authority by later authors who succeeded him, especially by Abhinavagupta.

The poem bears a detailed commentary by Ksemaraja which throws light on the philosophic principles and doctrines expressed in it. The earlier commentary written on it by Ramakantha has been lost. He cannot be placed later than the earlier part of the ninth century A.D. and he must have been some *Mathikaguru* of the school of Tyambaka which was transplanted in Kashmir by Sangamaditya in the eighth century A.D.

Batta-Pradyumna

He was a cousin and a disciple of Batta Kallata and both of them may have been of equal age. He can thus have belonged to the later part of the ninth century A.D. He was much more devoted to the Sakti aspect of the Absolute than to His Siva aspect. Therefore his philosophic poem named *Tattvagarbha-stotra* eulogises Mother Goddess Sakti. Siva has been described in the hymn as a special state of Sakti and so have been Sadasiva, Isvara etc. The hymn is not available at present. It has been lost but some of its verses have been preserved in quotations given by several later authors of Saivism. Somanada criticises some statements of Bhatta Pradyumna without mentioning either his name or that of his *Stotras*. Utpaladeva, while commenting on *Sivadrsti*, names both the work, *Tattvagarbha* and its author, Bhatta Pradyumna and quotes verses from the work. Ramakantha also quotes some of them in his *Spanda-vivrti*. The quotations prove him to have been a good poet. Though eulogising Sakti and giving greater importance to Her, than to Siva, he was doubtlessly a Saiva teacher because Utpaladeva counts him as a *Svayuthya*, that is, an author of his own line, the line of the Saivas. Besides, Bhatta Bhaskara mentions him as such a disciple of Bhatta Kallata who, having learnt the principle of Spanda from him, transmitted it to some Prajñarjuna, the next teacher in line. The *Tattvagarbha* describes the mode of the creation of *tattvas* right from Siva to earth by Sakti, the Godhead of God.

He describes such tattvas as outward manifestations of different aspects of Sakti, the absolute Godhead of God.

Utpaladeva

The most important author and the greatest of philosopher poets in the field of Kashmir Saivism was Utpaladeva, the author of *Sivastotravali*. The work is a collection of wonderfully beautiful twenty hymns eulogising Siva, the only absolute reality, having divine potency and spontaneous tendency towards playful activities of Godhead as its basic and essential nature. It expresses through suggestion many important philosophic principles of Saiva monism. The philosophy discussed through logical arguments in *Isvara-pratyabhijna* is reflected beautifully in it and shines here through a charming lustre without taxing one's head. Abhinavagupta quotes its verses occasionally, just to clarify his philosophic ideas expressed through subtle logic. *Isvara-pratyabhijna* represents the head of Utpaladeva and *Sivastotravali* represents his heart. He expresses in *Isvara-pratyabhijna* the truth that he arrives at through the calculations of his mind and his *Sivastotravali* expresses it as he feels and relishes it by means of direct experience attained through his heart and such expression of the truth is very often far more effective and sweet.

Utpaladeva wrote just a few hymns like *Sangrahasotra*, *Bhakti-stotra* and *Jayastotra*. In addition to them, he uttered occasionally single verses in certain emotional states which were written down and stored together. Such single verses were afterwards collected and classified by his two disciples Ramakantha and Adityaraja. These were then taken up for further study by Visvavarta, the father of poet Mankha, who arranged them well, classified them and presented them in the form of twenty different hymns with headings given to them by him on the basis of his own imagination. Ksemaraja wrote a good commentary on them. It was published by Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi in 1902. Swami Laksman Jee translated them into Hindi in the Gitapress style and the work was once again published along with such

translation by the same agency. *Sivastotravali* is even now sung by devotees of Siva in many villages and all towns in Kashmir and that proves its high popularity among the pandits of that land. It reveals very frequently the intense devotion that Utpaladeva had for Lord Siva. Devotion for the Lord has been given the highest position in the theology of Kashmir Saivism, as described by Utpaladeva in his *Sivastotravali* (1-18). As a means of the highest salvation, devotion has been given a position higher even to that of yoga and pure knowledge (xvi-16), not to say of ritual worship, tapas, austere discipline, vows etc. Devotion at the stage of its perfection has been declared in it as the highest aspect of knowledge and the super-most stage in Yoga (XVI-19). Devotion is "Jnanasya parama bhumir yogasya parama dasa" (S. st IX-9). The highest type of devotion, as described by Utpaladeva in his *Sivastotravali*, is a practice in such an actual experience of one's absolute unity with God in which his individual personality becomes expanded and takes the form of universal consciousness enjoying limitless divine powers of Godhead (VIII-7). It is termed in Saivism as *Samavesabhakti* which is far higher than the ninefold devotion of Vaisnavas or even the highest *prapatti* of Vallabha's school. The practices of all objective services to the Divine fall away like dry leaves of a tree when such *Samave'sabhakti* wakes up in one's heart. Such devotion yields *Jivanmukti*, liberation while one lives in a mortal form, as its immediate result as announced by Utpaladeva in his *Sivastotravali* (1-22). Some of its verses (1-11, XVI-19) give to such devotion a higher place than even to that of final liberation and the highest spiritual knowledge, both of which have been taken as tasteless when compared to such height of the blissfulness of *Samavesabhakti*. *Sivastotravali* is, in short, a unique and a wonderful work aiming at a perfect integration of the highest aspect of philosophical knowledge and the super-most practical realization of the exact truth, brought about by means of an intense type of devotion aided by practical yoga and theoretical knowledge of the absolute and theistic monism.

Siddhanatha

Prthvidhara, a practitioner of Tantric theology, praises his preceptor under two names viz, Siddhanatha, and Sambhunatha in his *Bhuvane'svaristotra*.

Sri Siddhanatha Karunakara Sambhunatha,
Sri Sambhernathe Karunakara Siddhanatha. (Bh. St. 40)

This Prithvidhara may have been some one different from that master of Sringeri-matha who succeeded Sankaracharya in A.D. 814. He says further about him like this:

Sri-Siddhanatha iti Ko'pi yuge caturthe
Pravirbabhuva Karuna-varunalayesmin;
Sri-Sambhuritya-bhidhaya sa mayi prasannam
Cetascakara sakalagama-cakra-varti. (Ibid-37)

He means to say that "Sri Sarnbhunatha, being the greatest master of all *Agama-sastras*, appeared under such name at some place known as Varana in the fourth aeon and, being known as the master of siddhas, he became kindly gracious towards the author".

Being a master of all Agamas and not having been praised as a master of Vedanta philosophy, he may have been an author different from the disciple of Sankaracharya and may have belonged to the tenth century A.D.

Siddhanatha is well known as the author of a wonderfully beautiful hymn named *Kramastotra*, sung in praise of the Divine Mother Kali, the absolute Godhead of God. The hymn eulogises Kali in accordance with the theological doctrines of Krama system started by Sivananda-natha. Sambhunatha was the presiding teacher of the Ardha-tryambaka school of Saiva monism established at *Jalandhara-pitha*, the shrine of *Vajresvari*. situated at Kangra. He was that greatest teacher of Abhinavagupta who removed all of his doubts and suspicions with regard to certain mysterious problems of the theology and philosophy of the Trika and Kula systems. Being a *siddha* of very high merit, he may have become known among people as Siddhanatha as well.

Prithvidhara says that Siddhanatha was born in the region of River Varana, a small river in South India. Kashmir tradition presents five facts about him. Firstly, he came from South India; secondly, he was a disciple of Sumatinatha, belonging to South India; thirdly, he attained fame and prominence at Jalandhara Pitha, fourthly, he was a great siddha and fifthly, he was known under many names, Abhinavagupta says, as mentioned above, that he was a perfect master of both Trika and Kula systems. Such accounts about him indicate that Siddhanatha was the same Sambhunatha who, having been a disciple of Sumatinatha, and having come to the North, became the master of Jalandharapitha. It was he who dispelled all doubts of Abhinavagupta with regard to all mysterious practices of Saiva monism. This Sambhunatha, alias Siddhanatha, wrote *Kramastotra* eulogising Kali diety of the Krama system in all her aspects and especially in her symbolic forms of twelve Kalis. The poem is lost now but Jayaratha has preserved fourteen verses of it in quotations while discussing the system of Kali-worship as a special type of Saktopaya, in his commentary on *Tantraloka* of Abhinavagupta. Such available verses prove him to be a philosopher poet of high merit. Abhinavagupta had written a commentary named *Kramakeli on Kramastotra*, but it has been lost. Only a few pages from it have been preserved as a long quotation in the commentary of Jayaratha on *Tantraloka* chapter IV.

Srivatsa (Kalidasa)

Cidgagana-candrika is a long poem in four chapters. It is a highly wonderful poetic work that throws light on many esoteric and mysterious doctrines and practices of Tantric yoga of monistic Saivism. It also describes the above mentioned twelve Kalis of the Krama system. The whole poem is composed in *Rathodhata* metre. It was published at Calcutta in 1937. Its editing is highly defective, containing many scribal mistakes and dubious readings. The defect in its editing is the highest towards the close of the

fourth hymn from the verse No. 126.* Two lines of the verse No. 126 concerned appear to have been lost and the editor, without sufficient pondering on the sense carried by the verses that follow, connects two lines of each previous verse with the two lines of the following one and that creates much confusion in understanding the content of such verses. Its second edition bears a detailed Sanskrit commentary, but unfortunately, the commentator happened to be a logician not knowing the theological doctrines of such Tantric system and, on such account, has not at all thrown any light on the special contents of the hymns. It is a wonder that he, though being a great Sankrit scholar of Varanasi, has not been able to find out the above mentioned great defect in its editing towards the close of the fourth hymn. The poet takes himself as dasa or servant of Kali but says in clear terms that the poem was composed by Srivatsva (C.C. IV-134) which was his real and proper name. But the editor of the first edition did not or could not understand such fact and announced that the author of the poem was some Kalidasa. All the scholars have since taken the poem as written by Kalidasa. It is a wonder that the editor of the second edition also committed such mistake though the poet has said clearly as follows:"

"*Srivatso vidadhe sa tu*"

The mistake may have originally been committed by some scribe while copying the colophone. It also is possible that the poet may have himself mentioned his own self as a dasa of Kali in the colophone. Any way, his proper name is Srivasta without any doubt. *Cidgaganacandrika* is both, a poem and a work on Sakta theology of monistic Saivism. As a poem it is very beautiful, charming and effective and as a work on theology it is of immense value. But there are three drawbacks in its study. The first one is the defective editing as mentioned above. The second one is the absence of proper

* Its number in the printed text is 305, as numbering is not given to verses chapter-wise. It starts with the first chapter and culminates at the close of the fourth chapter.

corrections of scribal mistakes at many places. The third drawback is the want of a good commentary by a scholar well versed in Sakta theology and Saiva philosophy.

Abhinavagupta

Some of the philosophic hymns of Abhinavagupta have been lost but many of them are still available and these are listed below:

1. His *Bhairavastotra* is very much popular with the devotees of Siva in Kashmir. It suggests several very important principles of Kashmir Saivism.

2. *Anubhava-nivedanastotra* depicts his personal experience of the aspects of transcendence and immanence of the absolute reality, the real self of each and every being.

3. *Kramastotra* on Kalinaya etc.

4. Only two sweet verses of his very beautiful *Siva-Saktya-vina-bhavastotra* are now available in a quotation in his *Gitartha-sangraha*.

Lalla

She has been referred to by later writers as Lallesvari. She was a female saint devoted to Lord Siva and is the first poet who composed poetry in Kashmiri language. She spoke either in blank verse or in poetic prose. Her literary art is known as *Vak-s* or sayings. She was a Sivayogini who composed gnomic poetry as well. Some of her sayings teach worldly wisdom, some describe her practical *sadhana* and some express the philosophic truth experienced by her. The Yoga she practised and preached was mostly *dhvaniyoga* known as *ajapa-yoga*. Her sayings are popularly sung in Kashmir by both Hindus and Muslims. She appeared in the 14th century when Kashmir had gone under Muslim rule. Her songs sung in pangs of separation from Siva are highly effective.

Bhaskarakantha, an eighteenth century writer on Saivism, translated seventy of her sayings into Sankrit verses. George Grierson was the first research scholar who collected and

published most of her sayings in Roman characters. Many editions of them appeared in print since then in Persian, Devanagari, Roman and new Kashmiri scripts and several research works on Lalla also came out during the past few decades.

Followers of Lalla

She was first followed in her art by her ardent disciple, Sheikh Nuruddln, alias Nund Rsi, whose poetry is a mixture of Saivism and Sufism and is sung popularly in Kashmir. Many saints appeared in his line which is still continuing in the Valley. Both Hindu and Muslim aspirants of both sexes join such order of hermits. Outwardly they appear to be half mad, but in reality they are in senses. Many a time they use their spiritual powers to give relief to people involved in worldly calamities.

Mirzakak, a saint of the late eighteenth century, also composed such sayings. He also got inspiration from Lalla who is said to have appeared before him in a forest near Kokarnag. He practised ajapayoga, attained self-realization and turned into a poet who composed poetic prose and religio-philosophic verse in Kashmiri and wrote it down in Persian script. Much of his literature has been lost, but a sufficient quantity of it is still available in manuscript form. He was born at Achan (or Atshan) in Pulwama and spent much of his age at Hagalgund where he shed off his mortal form.

Other Writers

Tikaram of Habbakadal was another such saint who composed *Vaks* in Kashmiri. Raghunath, a hermit in his line, published them along with a Hindi translation by the writer of these pages. The collection includes some Vaks from the pen of his disciple Bhona-kak who was from Pulwama. The Vaks of Mirzakak and Tikaram adhere to the philosophic principles of Kashmir Saivism. Such Vaks were composed by a female saint of Lar area as well. She is known well in Kashmir as Ropa-Bhawani.

CHAPTER XI

Neo-Saivism of Acharya Amrtavagbhava

A great person appeared at Allahabad in a Maharashtrian Brahmana family of traditional Sanskrit scholars of Varanasi in 1903 A.D. He was in fact a person who was born great. In 1919, when he was a student of oriental studies in Sanskrit, he had to face a big problem in his academic career on account of which he took refuge in the feet of Tripura, his favourite Tantric deity, for proper guidance and help. As a result of his faithful and ardent approach to her, he had a vision of sage Durvasas who blessed him with his grace and imparted to him the method of the highest type of *Sambhavaupaya*. As a result of his faithful practice in Sambhavayoga, he not only solved the concerned problem before him, but, by and by, had a clear and direct realization of the fundamental philosophic principles of Kashmir Saivism. After a few years he composed '*Parama-'siva-stotra'*' while working as a research scholar in the Sarasvati Bhavan Library of the then Queen's College of Sanskrit. Till then he was known as Vaidyanatha Shastri Varkale, but had started to use occasionally his pen-name, Amrta-Vagbhava. In 1928 he left his home and hearth and started roaming about as a hermit and practising regularly the Sambhava Yoga taught by sage Durvasas. As another result of the practice of such yoga, he had many visions of several deities and divine phenomena, especially at sacred places of such deities. Besides, he attained direct experiences of the subtler nature of

the self as well, while roaming about round sacred places of importance. During such period of his life, he composed several works on the philosophy and theology of Saiva monism as well as on religion, politics and literature under his pen-name, Amrta-vagbhava. Most of his important works are now available in print but some of them are still lying as manuscripts. His works on *Saiva monism* present certain new ideas and have been composed in accordance with a new approach to the problems of spiritual philosophy and theology, though he does not diverge from the fundamental principles of the theory of philosophy and the doctrines of the practice of theology of Saiva monism, discovered and developed by its ancient authors. The word, Neo-Saivism, is coined to denote his such philosophy which is partly ancient and partly new, just like the neo-Vedanta of Vivekananda. The main points of novelty which are found in it are discussed below:

1. The very philosophic approach of Acharya Amrtavagbhava to human life and its aims is quite new. All our ancient philosophers were mainly concerned only with the spiritual problems of life and showed least interest in its social, economic or political problems. At the most, they showed a little interest in the matters of religion because it helped in the spiritual uplift of people. But Acharya Amrtavagbhava was keenly interested in politics. It was his strong belief that spiritual uplift of people could not be worked out successfully before their pinching worldly problems were not solved satisfactorily. He felt further that a proper socio-economic set up, capable to relieve people from worldly problems, could not be established in a society without establishing a good, effective and just administrative machinery which, in his opinion, was dependent on a right political system. Therefore he used to say and write that we should, first of all, achieve perfect political independence and then establish an efficient, effective and just administrative system through right politics in our country and after that we should propagate religio-philosophic ways of spiritual progress. He wanted political workers to follow an ideal of becoming servants of the nation and not its masters. He did

not like the ways of our political workers, especially after the passing away of Sirdar Patel and very often predicted the bad results to be brought about by their wrong and dishonest policies.

Perfect spiritual independence was considered by him as the final goal of life and the relative liberation from all kinds of dependence, caused by worldly problems, was taken by him as an essential aid and means for the attainment of perfect liberation of spiritual character. He composed two very important works in his youthful age and these are *Atmavilasa* and *Rastraloka*.. one discussing the pure spiritual philosophy and the other throwing a brilliant light on his political philosophy. His time to time criticism on the working of Indian democracy and also on the character of its masters, "hiding the darkness of their bodies and minds under their white clothes," used to come out in the issues of *Srisvadhya*, a Hindi journal, in beautiful satirical verses in Sanskrit. Some of such verses were afterwards included by him in his *Amrta-sukil-pancasika*, published in 1973. Such inclusion of socio-political studies in Indian philosophy is the most important element of his thought on account of which it is being named as neo-Saivism. He contributed many other new ideas regarding studies in the spiritual philosophy of Saivism and these are being noted below:

2. The absolute God, according to Saivism, is both Siva and Sakti in His two aspects of transcendence and immanence. In fact, His own nature of Godhead is termed as Sakti, by virtue of which He is God. Therefore the devotees of His such divine nature call Him as Para Amba, the supreme Mother Goddess. All charms of Godhead lie in such aspect of God in which He is called *Tripura-sundari*, the beauty that shines at the three planes of unity, diversity and diverse unity; and *Lalita*, all tenderness shining in the whole existence. Other names given to Him in such aspect are *Kamesvari*, *Rajaraje'svari*, *Paramesvari* etc. If God Siva were devoid of such Saktihood, he would not have any charm for us and would have been a vacuum like entity like the pure space. His Saktihood is thus His aspect of the highest importance. But the word 'Sakti,' in its grammatical aspect, denotes an entity depen-

dent on some other entity that holds it or possesses it as being *Saktiman*. Its similarity with dependent ideas like *krti*, *ukti*, *priti*, *mati* etc., comes into one's head on hearing it. The word *Siva*, on the other hand, does not denote clearly anything like power or powerfulness which is the most important essence of the absolute reality. In order to avoid such one-sided denotation of the *Para-tattva*, Acharyaji coined the word *Saka* from the root *Sak* with the suffix *ghan* and used such term for the absolute and basic reality, the only metaphysical truth accepted in Saiva monism. The term can be explained thus: "*Sakanam-Sakah*", meaning one compact whole of all divine powers. The word *Sakti*, being feminine in gender, creates at once an idea of a female deity in the mind of a listener, but such a thing does not happen on hearing the word '*Sakah*' which is masculine in gender. The term *Saka* has been used profusely by the Acharya in his *Siddhamaharahasyam* and has been explained there at length in accordance with many aspects of the Godhead of the Absolute. The term suggests that theism is the essential nature of the Absolute in accordance with the ontology of Saiva monism.

3. Another new and very important contribution to the method of the expression of the fundamental character of the Absolute by the Acharya is his method of philosophical explanation of some mutually controversial phenomena with the help of the two principles of absolutism and relativity. Such a way of explanation of the truth dispels certain contradictions in the statements of divine scriptures as well. The Acharya asserts that the Absolute is being thought over, understood and expressed through two view points of absolutism and relativity. Accordingly the manifestations of relative *satta* (existence) and *asatta* (non-existence) have their roots in "*mahasatta*" (the absolute existence) of the Absolute and are manifested by the Absolute through Its divine playfulness as two relative ideas spoken of in scriptures. Similar is the case with the relative ideas of the pairs of (1) *Vidya*, (correct knowledge) and *avidya* (incorrect knowledge), (2) *svatantrya* (independence) and *paratantrya* (dependence), (3) *nairmalya* (purity) and *mala* (impurity), (4) *Kartiriva* (active-

ness) and *akartitva* (inactiveness) etc., all of which are respectively two types of ideas regarding the phenomenal and relative manifestations of (1) Mahavidya, (absolute knowledge), (2) *purna svatantrya* (perfect self-dependence), (3) *purna nairmalya* (perfect purity), (4) *purna-kartṛtva* (perfect activeness) etc., of the absolute reality understood and talked about in relative terms at the plane of relativity. All this has been explained as the *vilasa* of the Absolute God. Such method of explaining some ideas about spiritual philosophy and some scriptural expressions about them has been developed by Acharya ji in his *Atmavilasa* and has been resorted to in nearly all of its chapters.

4. There is some confusion in the principle of *buddhi* as taught in several schools of Indian philosophy. On one hand, it is called *Mahattattva* and is accepted as the source of all the universal cosmic elements right from ego (*ahankara*) to solid existence (*prthvi*), and, on the other hand, it is taken as the understanding sense of individual beings. It has thus two mutually contradictory characters of being a universal entity, on one hand, and an individual capacity, on the other hand. Acharya ji, following the traditional teachings of his ancestors, and relying on the authenticity of his personal yogic experiences, takes *Mahattattva* and *Buddhitattva* as two different elements and, accommodating *Citta* (of Vedanta) and *manas* (of Samkhya) respectively in them, removes such contradiction. *Mahat*, according to him, is that inscient splendour which grows out of *prakṛti* and, bearing the universal reflection of the whole phenomenal existence, undergoes outward evolution assuming the forms of all the twenty-two other instrumental and objective elements, worked out in the Samkhya philosophy. He takes *Buddhi* as the understanding capacity of an individual being. *Mahat*, in accordance with his views, grows into two elements known as *Ahankara* (ego) and *Buddhi* (understanding), each of which appears in two aspects, one facing *Purusa* and the other looking towards objective phenomena. *Ahamkara*, in its objective role is known as *citta* and *Buddhi* in such role is called *manas*. In short, these four elements are basically only two, ego and mind. Such an idea dispels the contradiction without in-

creasing the number of such tattvas.

5. As for the four states of animation, Acharya ji explains their character in quite a new way. He says in his *Sidhamaha-rahasya*:

Jagrat, the waking state, is the state of *vismrti* or total self oblivion; *svapna*, the dreaming state, is that of *smrti* or recollection, *susupti*, the sleeping state, is that of *anubhuti*, that is, the state that follows pure existence (*anu+bhuti*) and *Turya*, the state of self-revelation, is that of *bhuti* or pure existence. The self shines through its own psychic lustre of pure consciousness in *Turya*. That is followed by *susupti* in which a being experiences his pure individual consciousness freed from all misery. In dreaming state a person feels his capacities to know and to do as unfettered by the laws of causation and restriction as a result of a faint awakening of the past impression of his basic divine nature and hence it has been defined as *smrti*. In the waking state a person can not at all revive his impression of divinity or purity but takes the unconscious physical form as his self. That is a new idea contributed by him to Saivism.

6. Having been a student of Sanskrit grammar for a few years of his youthful age, he worked out a fresh philosophical explanation of certain elements of Sanskrit grammar, not touched in such context by Bhartrhari or Nagesa. Such elements are *Dhatu Pratipadika*, *Uttama-purusa* etc., discussed philosophically by him in his *Siddha-maha-rahasya*,

7. With respect to different principles of cosmogony established in different schools of Indian philosophy, he says that the theories of *armbha*, *parinama* and *vivarta* are correct at the lower levels of creation and are meant for such aspirants who are yet children in higher spiritual philosophy. *Svatantrya-Siddhanta*, the principle of the free sportive will of God, is, in his view, the cent per cent correct principle of cosmogony and is meant for the aspirants of higher merit. Other schools of thought say that it is only their own principle which is correct, while all other principles are incorrect. The Acharya takes much broader view on such points. Besides, he crushes down the arguments of Advaita Vedantins put forth by them in favour of their theory of *vivarta* with the

help of subtle logical arguments in almost all the chapters of his *Atma-vilasa*. The vivarta theory had already been criticised by ancient authors of Saivism, but his Neo-Saivism defeats it in a fresh way of arguments so that it can be taken as a fresh contribution.

8. Vedanta takes the Absolute truth as an indivisible and unitary self-expression of *satta* (existence), *citta* (consciousness) and *anandata* (blissfulness). But the Acharya expresses it as their that root cause out which all these three aspects of the Absolute reality become manifest. He uses the term *saccidananda-kanda* and not *Saccidananda-svarupa* for the absolute.

9. He develops the new principle of *vilasa* of the absolute which is the root cause of all phenomenal existence and its all functions. Though such principle of absolute Godhead had already been discovered by ancient authors of Saiva monism, yet the word *vilasa* used for the activity of Godhead, is a new thing contributed by the Acharya ji.

These are the main new philosophic ideas of Acharya Amrtavagbhava. Many more such ideas of minor importance can be found in his works and therefore his philosophy is being termed as Neo-Saivism.

He composed three philosophic hymns eulogizing Lord Siva and Mother Sakti which throw light on many philosophic principles of Saiva monism, besides writing three remarkable works dealing directly with his Neo-Saivism. An introduction to such books is given here chronologically:

1. *Paramasivastotra*

It is his first important work. It was written by him in 1926 while he was living yet in his own home at Varanasi and was working in the Sarasvati-Bhavana Library of the then Queen's Sanskrit College under the principalship of M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj. It is a hymn eulogising Siva, the Almighty God, appearing in the forms of thirty-six *tattvas* of Saivism. It is simultaneously a prayer and a philosophic work throwing light on the nature and character of the thirty-six *tattvas*. It has been published recently with a

detailed Hindi commentary by the author of the work in hand. Most of his published works bear the translations or commentaries by the same commentator though just a few have been commented upon by other disciples of the Acharya as well.

2. *Mandakrantastotra*

It is the most beautiful one among all the stotras composed by Acharya ji and has been written in *Mandakranta* metre. It was written by him in 1929 when, having returned from his pilgrimage to *Sarada* temple in the northern mountain ranges of Kashmir valley, he stayed for some time at Baramula in the shrine of *Sailaputri*. There he had the vision of a divine phenomenon which resulted in the realization of the universal aspect of his self and aroused in him a spontaneous flow of sweet and charming poetry in Sanskrit. Consequently he started writing the verses of an eulogy to Mother Goddess. Such verses used to flow out of his speech without any effort on his part and in just a few days he wrote about seventy of them. He intended to write about twenty verses more just to offer to the Mother his worship in the order of sixteen types of service, known as *sodasopacara-puja*, and to conclude the hymn after the description of the last item. But Devakak, a friend of the author, came from *Sadhu-malyun* and persuaded him to visit that place. He agreed to it and went there. The natural flow of poetry stopped then and there and did not come again for decades. It was in 1972 when the writer of the work in hand suggested to him to conclude the hymn where the flow of poetry had stopped and expressed his interest in translating it into Hindi. He agreed and wrote the concluding verses and the translator translated it very soon. Shri Ravi Sharma Trivedi edited it and published it in 1979 at Delhi. It was published again with an enlarged commentary by Sh. Ramanand Shastri in 1980 at Jodhpur.

The poem is full of poetic beauty enriched by emotional prayers, figures of speech, proper selection of suitable words, expressions of intense devotion and highly developed poetic

imagination. It expresses philosophic principles of Saiva monism through a sweet medium of effective poetry and throws sufficient light on the secrets of the worship of the Mother Goddess conducted with the help of three *bijamantras* of Tantric Saivism. Memory of *Kumara-sambhava* of Kalidasa and *Saundarya-lahari* of Sankaracharya is roused in a reader while he goes through the verses devoted to the description of the beauty of the limbs of the Mother Goddess. As said in *Malini-vijayottara*, a yogin, having been blessed by God through the bestowal of His forceful grace, turns into a poet capable to compose beautiful poetry. Such a thing happened with Acharya ji at the shrine of *Saila-putri* while composing Manda-kranta-stotra. The poem is interesting from the viewpoints of poetry, religion, theology and philosophy and proves the Acharya to be a great poet.

3. *Atma-vilasa with Sundari*

It is a work on pure philosophy and is written in *Karika* style in Sanskrit. It was composed by the Acharya while staying in Kashmir in a village named Hwal in Pulwama district in the year 1930 for the sake of a local pandit named Kantha Bhatta. It throws light on several basic philosophical principles of Kashmir Saivism like theism, absolutism, monism etc., and develops the newly named principle of *vilasa* or sportive luxuriousness of the absolute reality. It deals with the metaphysical problems of monism with the help of the principles of absolutism and relativity resorted to in discussions on it and expressions of it. Throughout all the chapters of this work, the author criticises the Vedantic theory of *Vivarta* as unsatisfactory and establishes the principle of *Vilasa* or sportive Godhead. It contains many such new philosophic ideas for which the term Neo-Saivism is being coined to denote the philosophy of Acharya Amrtavagbhava.

The author delivered a few lectures in Hindi to his Panjabi disciples in order to explain to them the Sanskrit *Karikas* of *Atmavilasa* in 1933 and one of them, named Labhurama of Nalagarh, noted down the lectures and such an explanation of *Atmavilasa* was named as *Sundari*. *Atmavilasa*

with such *Sundari* was published at Amritsar in the year 1936. Shri Peetha, a research society established by the Acharya in 1972, brought out its second edition with some foot notes and a detailed glossary of technical terms in 1982.

4. *Mahanubhava Sakta Stotra*

It is a brief hymn which depicts the essence of the five primary divine powers of God and eulogises them as symbolic divine mother goddesses. It can be classed with both religion and philosophy. It was composed in 1935 and was published with a Sanskrit commentary and a Hindi translation in 1957.

5. *Vimsatika-Sastram*

It is a small work of high merit on pure philosophy containing some elements of Neo-Saivism. It was composed in 1951 at Bharatpur for the sake of Mishra Govinda Sharma and was published in 1959 with two commentaries in Sanskrit and one in Hindi. Some very subtle principles of Neo-Saivism have been discussed in it briefly.

6. *Siddha-Maharahasym*

It is an extensive Work in eight chapters written in Sanskrit *Karikas* and bears a brief commentary in Hindi. The commentator added one more chapter to it as a *khila* or addendum in the same style. The Saka principle of Neo-Saivism finds a detailed expression philosophic work. One of its chapters is devoted to several practices in yoga. The Sambhava Yoga, as taught to the author by sage Durvasas, has been expressed in detail in that chapter. The last chapter of the work describes in detail most of the divine visions and some semi-divine discourses which the author had at different places as the results of his regular practice in Sambhava-Yoga. The Khila chapter also describes one such vision. The work was completed in 1963 and published through the encouragement from M.M. Gopinatha Kaviraja

in 1966 at Varanasi. Its second edition, along with a Hindi translation and notes, was published by Shree-peetha in 1983. His works on religious matters are listed below.

7. *Amrtastotra-Sangraha*

The Acharya, while visiting Hardwar area of U.P., Kashmir Valley and Kangra area of H.P., wrote several stotras eulogising Lord Siva, Mother Goddess, Lord Krsna, Sri Rama and Hanuman at different times and different places. A collection of such hymns, was made by Shri R.L. Agrawal. The collection, along with a translation into Hindi, was published in 1983 at Delhi by the Vidvad Varakala Shri Radha Krsna Dharmika Samsthan under the title *Amrtastotra-samgraha*.

8. *Parasuramastotra*

A hymn eulogising Parasurama was composed by the Acharya in 1932 on the occasion of Parasuramajayanti at Mattan (Martanda Ksetra) in Kashmir. The priests of the *Ksetra* performed a *Purascarana* of the stotra and they believed afterwords that it was such performance which saved the *tirtha* from the attacks and disturbances instigated and organized by some communal public leaders of Anantnag in the summer following the function. The Stotra, with a Hindi translation by the author, appeared in print three times since then. The last edition was published in 1957.

9. *Parasiva-Prarthana*

It consists of only one verse in *Sikharini* metre and was composed at Nalagarh in 1933. After writing it down the author thought that the compound word, '*baddhadarakaram*' was incorrect. Being an adjective of '*nijatanayam*' it should have been '*adara-badha-karam*' but that would not fit in the metre. So he decided to make some correction in it, using some other words in place of the wrong compound word. But lo ! What happened as soon as the author completed his

evening prayer on that day? A divine being, looking like a sage, appeared before him in the room and, prohibiting any change in the words of the verse, asserted that the verse was not incorrect. As for the above mentioned compound word, he advised to take it as an adverb and explained it this way: "*Baddhddarau karau yasmin karmani yatha syatam tatha*" and as soon as the author felt satisfaction about it, the divine being disappeared. The author mentions this episode in *Siddha-maha-rahasya* as well as in an edition of the prayer which was published several times since then as the author felt that its composition was the result of some divine inspiration and took it to be a divine *mantra*.

10. *Sapta-Padi-Hridayam*

It is a small work in Sanskrit verse throwing light on the significance of the rite of *Saptopadi* in Hindu marriage. It was composed in 1939 and was published subsequently at Bharatpur. Its second edition was published with a Sanskrit commentary and a Hindi translation in 1962 at that very place. It clarifies at length the significance of each word to be used on each of the seven steps in accordance with the *Grhya-sutras*. It can be conveniently used at marriage ceremonies for the benefit of the couples to be married.

The Acharya composed several works describing his visions of and discourses with some divine and semi-divine beings and three out of such works have appeared in print as separate booklets, while some other such works of smaller size are included in his *Siddhamaharahasyam*. The three booklet are:

11. *Sanjivani-Darsnam*

It was composed at Kulgam in Kashmir while the author was staying there with the writer of the work in hand for some time in 1962. It was published with a translation in Hindi at Bharatpur in 1963. It describes the accounts of the pilgrimage of the author to *Manikarna* in the Beas Valley of Himachal. The descriptions of vallies, streams, springs,

hills etc., on the banks of Beas and Parvati, are very beautiful and interesting. He stayed at Manikarna for a few days and was caught by malaria fever that started to attack him after every third day. He used to take rest for two days and walk back towards the planes for two days. Thus he reached a place known as Sultanpur in Kulu. There the fever attacked him very severely right from early morning. Lo! what happened? While he was lying alone on a mat in a *dharama-shala*, three divine beings with beautiful forms, dressed well in divine clothes, putting on beautiful shoes and holding small cane staffs in their hands, appeared in the south on his left side and a saintly looking divine being, holding a trident and a water-pot in his hands, appeared in the north on his right side. The latter gave him some nectar-like water to drink and imparted to him a divine *mantra* that conquers death. The author continued repeating the *mantra* without any break up to the dusk. All the four divine beings continued to stand by for the whole day. The parties looked at each other but did not have any conversation. At the time of dusk both the parties slipped away slowly in their respective directions without turning about and lo ! the Acharya felt himself as freed from the killing high fever.

The author narrated such account to the writer of these lines and, on his request, noted it down in beautiful Sanskrit verse under the title '*Sanjivani-darsanam*'. It is a beautiful poem.

12. *Desika Darsanam*

It is another such poem which was composed by the author in 1962 at Kulgam in Kashmir. It describes the vision of sage Durvasas which the author had at his ancestral home at Varanasi in 1920 when he was sixteen plus in age. In such meeting with the sage he got initiation from him in the highest type of Sambhava-Yoga. The descriptive poem appeared in print in 1983 along with the new edition of *Siddhamaharahasya*, both the booklets being bound together as one volume.

13. *Siddha-Manaava-Darsanam*

A siddha in human form met Sri Acharyaji in 1930 in the lower compound of the shrine of Mother Sarika at Srinagar and had a discourse with him on the verse of *Pancastavi* starting with the words 'Maya-Kundalini' etc. The siddha, named Sivaji, clad as a Kashmiri Pandit and speaking in Kashmiri tone, became desirous to rouse in Acharyaji the exact significance of the verse concerned. For such purpose he lead him to a house in the interior portion of the old city and advised him to come there next day. Acharyaji marked the house and the small lane and came next day with the help of such marking and had a long meeting with Sivaji who, casting a fixed gaze on him through an attitude of graciousness, roused the *Kundalini* power in him and brought about in him the blissful experience of its movements, both upwards and downwards, turn by turn, through the six vital nerve centres inside the spinal cord. It continued for a long time and came to a close only when Sivaji removed his gaze from Acharyaji.

In the view of the writer of these lines, it was a kind of *Veddhadiksa* which Sivaji conducted with respect to Acharyaji. After a few days the Acharya came to see Sivaji again, knocked the outer door of the compound and called for Sivaji again and again in a loud voice, but there was no response from within the house. The neighbours came out and told Acharyaji that the house had remained uninhabited for the last several years and no Sivaji lived there. He could not find any clue to that Sivaji or his where-abouts anywhere in the city and did not see him again. The poem describing such episode was composed by the author in 1963 and it appeared in *Sodha-prabha*, the magazine of the Lal Bahadur Shastri Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Delhi, in 1978.

14. *Amrta-Sukti-Pahcasika*

Sri Acharyaji expressed in Sanskrit verse his views on timely topics at different occasions and these were published by him in different issues of Sri Svadhyaya, a quarterly

Hindi journal published by Svadhyayasadan, established by him at Solan in Hitnachel Pradesh. Fifty verses were afterwards selected from them in 1953 and published at Pune in 1973 along with a Sanskrit commentary under the title *Amrtasukti-Pancasika*. The poem describes many things of religious, philosophical, social and political character. The criticism of the prevalent political system of India, as contained in it, is remarkable.

Sri Acharyaji composed several works on political science and some poetical works as well. An introduction to them is also given below:

15. *Rastraloka*

Sri Acharyaji wrote a few works on the right politics, worthy to be owned according to his integral view on life. In 1933 he wrote a small but highly valuable work in Sanskrit Karikas under the title *Rastraloka*. It was published in 1934, republished with a Hindi translation in 1947 and reprinted in 1948. The small work is meant to point out to the nation as to what kind of national politics, in keeping with the worthy ancient traditions based on Indian view on life, should we adopt in the present age of science and technology. It deals with several topics of politics and administration from the view point of religion and philosophy.

16. *Rastra Sanjivana Bhasyam*

It is a detailed Sanskrit commentary by the Acharya himself on his own *Rastraloka* and is one of his most important and valuable works. It presents an integral study of spiritual philosophy and actual politics and aims at their mutual synthesis. Like Bhagavadgita it synthesises both such aspects of the problems of life. It is preserved in manuscript form and is yet to be printed, translated and explained in Hindi which means a colossal task.

17. *Sankranti Pancadasi*

It is a poem written in lyrical style and depicting the

character of the right and desirable socio-political revolution that can lead the nation towards proper attainment of all the four aims of life. It is in fact a charming piece of Sanskrit poetry. It was composed in 1946 and was published with verse and prose translation into Hindi in 1970.

18. *Varakala-Vamsa-Caritam*

Shri Acharyaji composed a lengthy work in Kavya style on the history of his ancestors, near relatives, teachers, friends etc. under the title *Varakalavamsa-Caritam*. It is lying in manuscript form. If published, it could provide sufficient information regarding many Sanskrit scholars of the past one hundred years. The personal history of Acharyaji is also a part of this poem.

19. *Other Works*

He wrote a few short poems on topics like a letter to his ungrateful friend, a message to one so near in relation to him and so on. His short stories, providing correct information about the lives of certain saints, appeared in different issues of Sri Svadhyaya. Description of some of his own experiences, which he had when he was a child, did also appear in Sri Svadhyaya and so did his articles on higher philosophy which appeared in several issues of the magazine under the heading "Vastu-Sthiti Kya hai". Besides he wrote a few *praiastis* in Sanskrit verse and one written in honour of M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj on the occasion of his birthday at Varanass is highly remarkable among them. In addition he wrote ghazals in Urdu and translations of some Persian verses into Sanskrit verse. When working at Sarasvatibhavan Library of the then Queen's Sanskrit College, Benaras, he edited several works like *Tripura-Rahasya*.

Acharya Amrtavagbhava transcended to the abode of siddhas in 1982 and three boards are carrying on his mission at present. Those are:

1. Sri Peetha, Saiddha-darsana, sodha-Sansthana, work-

ing at present at Jammu.

2. Vidvad-Varakla-Sri-Radha-Krisna-Dharmika Sansthan, Delhi.

3. Amrta-vagbhava Sodha-Sansthan, Amrtapath, Janata Colony, Jaipur.

The institution named Sri-Svadyayasadan, established at Solan, was later shifted to Bharatpur where it was working well upto 1980.

APPENDIX A

Prominent Authors

Group A

Great Masters of the Subject:

1. Sage Durvasas

He gave the teaching of the subject a fresh start some time about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. His available works:

1. Parasambhu-mahimnastavah.
2. Tripura-mahima-stotram.
3. Lalita-stava-ratnam.

2. Mathikagurus. (8th century)

They were the teachers of the school started by Tryamabakaditya, the disciple of Durvasas. The divine scriptures of the Trika system were revealed to them. The teacher among them who settled in Kashmir was known as Sarigamaditya who transplanted the school in the Valley. Descendents and disciples in his line are known as Mthika-guravah.

3. Vasugupta: (8th century)

Sivasutra was discovered and propagated by him. He discovered Spanda Principle of Saivism. He was a great siddha and a Mathika-guru.

4. Bhatta Kallata
(9th century)

His workss=(1) Spanda-Karika and (2) Spanda-vrtti. His works that have been lost: (1) Tattva-vicara, (2) Madhu-vahini, (3) Tattvartha-cintamani and (4) Sva-svabhava-sambodhana. He was a famous *siddha*, a master of Kula and Trika systems, a scholar and the author who built Spanda-sastra.

5. Somananda
(9th century)

He wrote Sivadrsti, the first philosophic work on Kashmir Saivism. His vrtti on Paratnsika has been lost. A master of Kula and Trika systems, he had perfect hold over all the schools of Indian thought, some of them not known at present. He also was a *siddha*.

6. Utpaladeva
(9th century)

He developed the philosophic side of Kashmir Saivism. He had perfect mastery on the theoretical study and theological practice of Trika and Kula systems and was a *siddha* having practical knowledge of both. His available works=(1) Tsvarapratya-bhijna, (2) Ajada-pramatr-siddhi, (3) I'svara-siddhi, (4) Sambandha-siddhi, (5) Sivastotravah, and Vrttis on (6) I'svara siddhi, and (7) Sambandha-siddhi. His partly available works are Vrttis on (8) Sivadrsti and (9) I'svarapratya-bhijna. His works that have been lost are: (1) I'svarapratya-bhijna-vivrti and Vrtti on Ajada-pramatr-siddhi. He was a good poet as well.

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7. Abhinavagupta (10th. and 11th. centuries; 925 to 1025-Approximately)
- He is the highest authority on both, the theory and practice of Kashmir Saivism; is the interpreter of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, and the builder of the Trika system of practical Saivism. He was a successful Siva yogin having perfect mastery over the systems of Kula and Trika (including Krama) and was a scholar having the correct knowledge of all the subjects of study prevalent in his time. He is the final authority on the interpretation of the theory of Kashmir Saivism and its Trika system of practical theology. His original works on the Trika are: (1) Tantraloka; (2) Tantrasara; and (3) Malini-vijaya vartika; (4) Paratrisika-vivarana is an important commentary on a scriptural work. His commentaries on Pratyabhijna section are; (5) I'svara-pratyabhijna-vimarsini; and (6) I'svarapratyabhijna-vivrti-Vimarsini. His very important works that have been lost are: (1) Sivadrstyalocana, (2 to 4) Vimarsinis on the three siddhis of Utpaladeva, (5) Kramakeli on Kramastotra of Siddhanatha, and (6) Purva-pancika on Malini Tantra. His works useful for beginners are: (1) Bodha - pancadasika, (2) Paramarthacarca, (3) Anuttarastika, and (4) Paramarthasara. His important stotras = (1) Kramastotra, (2) Bhairavastotra, (3) Dehastha-devata-cakra-stotra, and (4) Anubhavanivedana-stotra. He was an authority on dramaturgy

and Alankara-s'astra as well. Many more of his works, quoted by him without naming them, have been lost. His Tantraloka is a unique work on theology and yoga in the whole world.

8. Sambhunatha
(10th. century)

He was the master of the Ardha-Tryambaka school at Jalandhara-pitha (Kangra) having perfect mastery over all the secret doctrines of philosophy, theology and ritual of the Trika and Kula systems of practical Saivism. It was he who removed all the doubts that Abhinavagupta had with regard to mysterious principles and esoteric doctrines of Saivism. Only a partly available work, that can be ascribed to him, is Kramstotra quoted in the commentary on Tantraloka. He was known as Siddhanatha as well.

Group B

Authors of Secondary Importance:

I. Bhatta Narayana
(9th. century)

A grand-teacher of Abhinavagupta. He wrote Stava-cintatnani, a philosophic hymn to Siva.

2. Bhatta Pradyumna
(9th. century)

A disciple of Bhatta Kallatra. A Saiva aspirant devoted to the Sakti aspect of the Absolute. His Tattva-garbha-stotra is partly available in quotations. His Sakta views have been criticised by Somananda in his Sivadrsti.

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3. Ramakantha (late 9th. century) His works = (1) *Spanda-vivrti* and *Sarvatobhadra* commentary on Bhagavad-gita. His commentary on Stava-cintamani has been lost.
4. Bhatta-divakara-Vatsa. (Early 10th. century) Only a few quotations from his (1) *Vivekanjana* and *Kaksya-stotra* are available.
5. Bhatta-Bhaaskara (Early 10th century) He wrote *Sivasutravartika* providing the traditional interpretation of *Sivasutra*. He was one of the teachers of *Abhinavagupta*.
6. Vamanadattacharya (Early 10th. century) Only some quotations from his *Samvit-prakasa* are available. He also was a teacher of *Abhinavagupta*.
7. Utpala Vaisnava (10th. century) His *Spanda-pradipika* is available. He was basically a follower of the *pancaratra* system of *Vaisnavism*.
8. Ksemaraja (11th. century) His works: (1) *Pratyabhijna-hrdaya*, (2) *Parapravesika*, (3) *Spanda-sandoha*, (4) *Spanda-nirnaya*, (5) *Siva-sutra-vimarsini*, (6) *Svacchanda-uddiyota*, (7) *Netra-tantra-uddiyota*, and *Tikas* on (8) *Sivastotravali*, (9) *Stava-cintatnani* and (10) *Samba-pancasika*, (11) His *Vijnana-bhairava-uddiyota* is available in fragments.
9. Abhinavagupta 'Visesa' (11th. century) He was probably that cousin of *Abhinavagupta* whose name he mentions as *Abhinava* in his *Tantraloka*. He wrote *Tantra-vata-dhanika*, a gist of *Tantra-sara*.

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| 10. Varadaraja
(11th. century) | Wrote Sivasutra-vartika. The author was a disciple of Ksemaraja come from Kerala. |
| 11. Yograja
(11th. century) | He wrote a scholarly commentary on the Paramarthasara of Abhinavagupta. |
| 12. Jayaratha
(12th. century) | (1) His voluminous commentary named Viveka on the Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta is available in 12 volumes. (2) His other works are Vamakesvari-mata-vivarana and Haracarita-cintamani. |
| 13. Virupaksanatha
(12th. century) | He was a siddha who may have belonged to Gangetic valley. His work Virupaksa-pancasika with the commentary by Vidyacakravarti, belonging to Kannauj is available. |
| 14. Nagarjuna (Saiva)
(13th. century) | He was a siddha living at Jwalamukhi in H.P. He belonged to the line of Sambhunatha. His works= (1) Paramarcanatrimisika and (2) Cittasantosa-trimisika (both philosophical-lyrics). |
| 15. Sivopadhyaya
(18th century) | (1)Commentary on Vijnanabhairava, (2) Srividya, (3) Gayatribhasya, (4) Commentary on Bahurupagarbha (5) Sivaratri-nirnaya etc. |
| 16. Bhaskarakantha
(19th. century) | (1) Bhaskari commentary on Isvara-pratyabhijna-vimarsini. |

Group C

Natha and Kaula Authors:

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| 1. Adinatha | Anuttara-prakasa-pancasika, an important work with the time of its |
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composition not certain. It does not bear any commentary.

2. Sivanaoda Natha (8th. century) Originator of the system of Kali-upasana in Kashmir. Two verses from his pen have been preserved by Jayaratha in his commentary on Tantraloka.
- Avatarakanatha Sivananda-natha is referred to by such name as well. Probably he may be identical with Adinatha, though it is not certain.
3. Punyananda-natha (1) Kamakala-vilasa.
4. Amrtanandanatha. (1) Commentary on Kamakala-vilasa. (2) Cidvilasa.
5. Svatantrananda-natha. Matrka-cakra-viveka.
6. Mahesvarananda (14th. century) Lived in Cola country in far south, wrote Mahārtha-manjari in a dialect of Mahārāstri prakṛt and explained it in Sanskrit in his Mahārthamanjari-Parimala.
7. Vatula-natha Wrote a small work named Vatula-natha-sutra.
8. Cakrapaninatha Wrote Bhavopahara, a philosophic eulogy to Siva. It bears a commentary by Ramyadeva.
9. Sitikantha A Kaula author, the writer of Mahanaya-prakasa.

10. Sahib-Kaula A Great author with (1) Devinama-
vilasa, (2) Sivajiva-dasaka, (3)
Saccidananda-kandali, (4) Kalpa-
vrksa-prabandha etc. to his credit.

Group D

Authors of Neo-Saivism

1. Acharya Amrtava- (1) Atma-vilasa (2) Vimsatika-sastra.
gbhava 1903 to (3) Siddhamaha-rahasya, (4)
1982 Parama-siva-stotra, (5) Mandakra-
nta-stotra, and (6) Mahanubhava-
Sakti-stava.
2. Baljinnatha (1) Svatantrya-darpana with com-
Pandita mentary in Sanskrit (2) Kashmira-
Saiva-darsana in Hindi and several
works in English. (3) Commentaries
on and translations of the works by
Acharya Amrta-vagbhava.

APPENDIX B

Important Works

Section A - Scriptural Works

1. Siva Agamas like Kamika, Yogaja, Ajita etc., ten in number.
2. Rudra Agamas like Vijaya, Svayambhuva, Kirana etc., eighteen in number.
3. Bhairava Agamas like Svachhanda, Rudra-yamala etc., sixtyfour in number.

4. *Trika Agamas:*

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| (i) Siddha Tantra | Only quotations from it are now available. |
| (ii) Vamaka Tantra | (Not now available). Its name is printed as <i>Namaka</i> , probably on account of confusion between na and va in Sarada script. |
| (iii) Malini Tantra | Its final portion alone, named as Malinivijayottara-Tantra is available. It is the main source of most of the theological doctrines of the Trika system of practical Saiva monism. |

5. Vijnana-bhairava-
(with commen-
taries) A scriptural text claiming itself to be a part of Rudrayamala and dealing with the yoga of the Trika system aimed at self realization.
6. Paratrisika (with
Vivarana by
Abhinavagupta) It also claims to be a chapter of Rudrayamala. As explained by Abhinavagupta, it deals with subtler and esoteric doctrines of Sambhavayoga etc., and illuminates some deeper secrets of philosophy and theology of Saivism. It is wrongly called Paratrimika.
7. Parastrisika-vrtti A short commentary on the text of Paratrisika by Somananda. It has been lost.
8. Siva-sutra It was revealed to Vasugupta who extracted from it the theory and the practice regarding the principle of *Spanda* and imparted that to his disciples.

Section B - Philosophic Treatises:

1. Sivadrsti by
Somananda It is the first philosophic treatise written on Kashmir Saivism in a strictly philosophic style and through a typical philosophic method. It deals with philosophy, theology and history of Kashmir Saivism. Besides, it explains and refutes the theories of all other schools of thought, known and unknown at present. In addition, it points out all objections that can be raised by other schools of thought against Saiva monism and dismisses them, one by one, through logical arguments.

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2. Sivadrsti-Vrtti
by
Utpaladeva
It is a short paraphrase of the couplets of Sivadrsti and is very helpful in understanding the arguments put up in it, but, unfortunately, about one half of it has been lost and Sivadrstiremains unintelligible on many points on such account.
3. Siva-drstyalocana
by Abhinava-
gupta
It was a detailed commentary on Sivadrsti but has very unfortunately been lost.
4. Isvara-pratyabhijna by
Utpaladeva
It is the most important work on the philosophy of Kashmir Saivism. It refutes the non-existentialism of the Buddhists and establishes the eternal existence of an absolute subjective consciousness having all divine powers. It deals philosophically with metaphysics, ontology, cosmogony, cosmology, epistemology, causation etc., of Kashmir Saivism and discusses scriptural doctrines regarding the cosmic functions of the Absolute. It works out an analysis and synthesis of the whole phenomenon into different categories of objective and subjective elements in the light of Saiva Agamas and leads finally to the realization or rather recognition of the exactly real nature of one's *self* which is the highest aim of all life.
5. Isvara pratyabhijna-Vrtti by
Utpaladeva
It is a brief paraphrase of the couplets of I'svarapratyabhijna but has partly been lost.

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|---|---|
| 6. I'svara-pratyabhijna-Vivrti by Utpaladeva | It was an elucidative commentary on the vrtti mentioned above and was a very good scholarly work keeping in view the principles of all other schools of Indian philosophy, but has now been lost. |
| 7. I'svara-pratyabhijna-Vimarsini by Abhinavagupta | It is an elucidative commentary explaining the couplets of Isvara-pratyabhijna and has raised that work to the position of the highest importance in the whole philosophic literature of Saiva monism. |
| 8. I'svara-pratyabhijnavivrti-Vimars'ini by Abhinavagupta | It is a voluminous work explaining the scholarly work named I'svara-pratyabhijnavivrti of Utpaladeva; but, since the vivrti has been lost, it does not yield the results which it was meant to yield. |
| 9. to 11. Three Siddhis by Utpaladeva (Siddhi-trayi) | <div style="margin-left: 20px;">1. Ajada-Pramatr-siddhi, refuting the non-existentialism of the Buddhists and establishing the eternal existence of Atman as a witness to the flux'of momentary mind.</div> <div style="margin-left: 20px;">2. I'svarasiddhi, refuting the atheism of Samkhya and establishing the existence of God through logical arguments.</div> <div style="margin-left: 20px;">3. Sambandha-siddhi, establishing the manifestation of relativity on which depend the concepts of time, space, generality etc.</div> |
| 12 to 14. Three Vrttis on these by Utpaladeva | These provide paraphrase of the couplets of the three Siddhis. Vrtti on Ajada-pramatrsiddhi has been |

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- lost, but the other two are available.
Pt. Harabhatta Sastri wrote a fresh
vrtti on No. 1.
- 15 to 17. Three
Vimarsims on Ut-
paladeva's three
Siddhis by
Abhinavagupta
- None of these is available now, but
references to two of them are found
in *Mahartha - manjari-Parimala* of
Mahesvarananda. It is highly
probable that the third Siddhi also
bore such a Vimarsini.
18. Paramarthasara
by
Abhinavagupta
- It is a very useful work that can
serve as a text book for beginners.
It bears a scholarly-commentary by
Yogaraja, a disciple of Ksemaraja.
19. Bodha-pancada-
sika by
Abhinavagupta
- A very brief work expressing the
fundamentals of the philosophy of
Kashmir Saivism.
20. Paramartha-
carca by
Abhinavagupta
- A still smaller work presenting
Sattarka of Saiva monism.
21. Para-Pravesika
by Ksemaraja
- A small work meant to serve as a
text book for a beginner.
22. Pratyabhijna-
hrdaya by
Ksemaraja
- A small work with a big scholarly
commentary by the author. It is
meant to serve as a text book for a
beginner, but creates generally con-
fusion in him on account of a
greater show of the high scholarship
and intelligence of the author, found
in it.
23. Sattrimsat-tattva-
Sandoha by
Ananda
Rajanaka
- Basically a portion of Saubhagya-
subhagodaya of Amrtananda com-
mented upon as an independent
work.

Section C - Spanda Sastra

1. Spanda-karika by Bhatta Kallata A work in Karika style throwing light on a direct method to realize Spanda, the divine stir of consciousness, and also on the results of such realization as well as distinction between Spanda and the nihilistic tranquillity of *Susupti*.
2. Spanda-vrtti by Bhatta Kallata A paraphrase of the couplets of Spanda-karika.
3. Spana-sutra Another name of Spanda-karika.
4. Spanda-sarvasva by Bhatta Kallata Spandakarika along with vrtti is known by such name.
5. Spanda-vivrti by Ramakantha A detailed commentary on Spanda-karika composed in accordance with Spanda-vrtti.
6. Spanda-nirnaya by ksemaraja Another detailed commentary on Spanda-karika written by Ksemaraja and not necessarily following Spanda-vrtti.
7. Spanda-sandoha by Ksemaraja A small work throwing light on the significance of the Spanda principle of Kashmir Saivism.
8. Spanda-pradipika by Utpala-Vaisnava It is a scholarly commentary on Spanda-karika written by a Vaisnava author who tries his best to elevate Pancaratra system to the position of Spanda-sastra by quoting profusely from Vaisnava Agamas.

It provides historical information about some authors and works on Saivism.

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Section D - Works on Trika Theology

1. Malini-vijaya-vartika by Abhinavagupta
It is an extensive work throwing light on several mysterious topics of philosophy and theology as expressed in the first part of Malini-Tantra. It presents a deeper study in Trika system but does not bear any commentary or notes which it requires very badly.
2. Malini-sloka-vartika
Another name of Malini-vijaya-vartika.
3. Tantraloka by Abhinavagupta
It is the most important work on the theology and ritual of the Trika system of practical Saiva monism and throws a brilliant light on some principles of its theory as well. It has no parallel in works on theology in the whole world.
4. Tantraloka-viveka by Jayaratha
It is a scholarly and a detailed commentary on Tantraloka published in twelve volumes. It is very helpful in studying Tantraloka and is a store-house of information regarding many works on Saivism and many of its authors.
5. Tantrasara of Abhinavagupta
It is a gist of Tantraloka written in simple prose. Apabhramsa quotations given in it may have been taken from the works of *yoginis* like Keyuravati and Madanika who learnt Kāṇḍa from Sivanandanātha and transmitted it to their disciples.

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| 6. Tantra-vata-dhanika by Abhinavagupta-visesa | It is a gist of Tantrasara written, most probably, by Abhinava, a cousin of the great Abhinavagupta, mentioned by name by him in his Tantraloka. |
| 7. Paratrisika-Vrtti by Somananda | It must have been a work of great importance, but has been lost. |
| 8. Para-trisika-Vivarana by Abhinavagupta | It is a detailed commentary on the Agamic text throwing light on <i>Matrka</i> , <i>Malini</i> and several other mysterious and esoteric practical doctrines of Kashmir Saivism. |
| 9. Paratrisika Laghu-Vrtti | It is a commentary written by some later Pandit and ascribed to Abhinavagupta just to make it popular. |
| 10. Paratrisika-Tatparya-dipika | A running commentary in verse on Paratrisika, it is a work of minor importance. |
| 11. Paratrisika-vivrti | A commentary by Laksmirama, it is of minor importance. |
| 12. Virupaksa-pancasika by Virupaksanatha | It is a work dealing with the philosophy and theology of Saiva monism through a peculiar method of Siddhas. It bears a commentary by some Vidyacakravarti. |

Section E - Philosophic Poems

- | <i>Poem</i> | <i>Author</i> | <i>Particulars</i> |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---|
| 1. Parasambhu-mahimna-stava | Durvasas | A lengthy poem in thirteen sections suggesting many principles and doctrines of |

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		philosophy and theology. The most ancient work expressing the Spanda principle.
2. Tripura-mahima-stotra.	Durvasas	A hymn to Goddess Tripura suggesting doctrines of Saiva philosophy.
3. Lalita-stava-ratna	Durvasas	A hymn to Divine Mother dealing with <i>Sricakra-Upasana</i> .
4. Samba-pancasika	Samba	An eulogy with double meanings written in praise of both, Sungod and Almighty God, and attributed to Samba, a son of Lord Krsna.
5. Stava-cinta-mani	Bhatta-Narayana	A hymn to Siva suggesting philosophic principles.
6. Sivastotravali	Utpaladeva	A collection of highly beautiful philosophic eulogies to Siva.
7. Kramastotra	Siddhanatha	A partly available hymn eulogizing twelve Kalis of the Krama system of Saiva yoga of the Trika-acara.
8. Kramastotra	Abhinavagupta	An eulogy dealing with the same topic of Trika theology.
9. Bhairavastotra	-do-	A philosophic hymn to Siva which is highly popular in Kashmir.
10. Cidgagana-candrika	Srivatsa	A hymn to Mother Goddess suggesting certain methods of Tantric sadhana, including

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Kali-worship of the Krama system. It has been wrongly attributed to Kalidasa.

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|-----|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| 11 | Paramarcana
trimsika | Saiva
Nagarjuna | It deals at length <i>with</i> the Parapuja. of the Tantric theology of Saiva monism. |
| 12. | Citta-santosa-
trimsika | -do- | It describes the psychic approach of a Sivayogin towards all phenomena after his having attained self-realization and jivan-mukti. |
| 13. | Sivajiva-
dasakam | Sahib-Kaula | It describes a sudden and spontaneous flash of self realization. |
| 14. | Paramasiva-
stotra | Acharya
Amrta-
vagbhava | It is an eulogy to Almighty God Siva appearing in the form of thirty-six tattvas. |
| 15. | Mandakranta-
stotram. | -do- | A philosophic hymn to Mother goddess in <i>Mandakranta</i> metre. |
| 16. | Mahanubhava
Sakti-stotra | -do- | A hymn eulogizing the five primary powers of the Lord. |

Section F - Works on Neo-Saivism

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Atma-vilasa | Acharya
Amrta-
vagbhava | A detailed work full of discussions on the validity of the theistic principles of Saiva monism, written in Karika style. It criticises the Vivarta-vada of Vedanta. |
| 2. | Atma-vilasa-
sundan | -do- | A detailed Hindi explanation of the couplets of Atmavilasa. |

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|-----------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| 3. Atmavilasa-vimarsini | Balajinnatha Pandita | A detailed Sanskrit Commentary on Atmavilasa, to be published very soon. |
| 4. Vimsatika-sastram | Acharya Amrta-Vagbhava | A brief work on some fundamental principles of Neo-Saivism. |
| 5. Vimarsini on above. | Balajinnatha Pandita | A detailed commentary in Sanskrit on VimSatika-Sastram. |
| 6. Prakasini on the same. | Raghunatha Candra | A detailed commentary in Sanskrit on Vimsatika Sastram. |
| 7. Prasadini on the same. | Ramananda Tiwarl | A Hindi commentary on Vimsatika-sastram. |
| 8. Siddhamaharahasyam | Acharya Amrta-vagbhava | A work expressing several principles of Neo-Saivism in detail and describing some results of Sambhavayoga, published with a foreword by M.M. Gopinath Kaviraja. |
| 9. Siddhamaharahasyam in Hindi | Balajinnatha Pandita | A Hindi translation with notes on the couplets of Siddha-maharahasyam. |
| 10. Siddha-maharahasya-vimarsini. | -do- | A detailed Sanskrit commentary on Siddhamaharahasya, not yet published. |
| 11. Vastusthiti-prakasa | Acharya Amrta-vagbhava | An original work in Hindi on the Neo-Saivism, published along with Parama-Sivatotram by the same author. |

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|--------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 12.. Svatantrya-darpana | Balajinnatha Pandita | It presents the basic detailed principles of Kashmir Saivism in accordance with the views of the ancient great masters of the subject and integrates the principles of Neo-Saivism with them. |
| 13. Svatantrya-darpana-Tika. | Balajinnatha Pandita | It is a short Sanskrit commentary in the form of notes on the couplets of Svatantrya-darpana. |
| 14. A mirror of self-supremacy | -do- | It is an English translation (with notes) of Svatantrya-darpana which is going to be published very soon. |

Section G - Works by Kaulas and Nathas

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|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Anuttara-prakasa Pancasika | Adinatha | It is an important work on Saiva monism written by some siddha. It should have borne a commentary. It mentions the term spanda. |
| 2. Matrka-cakra-Viveka | Svatantra-nanda-Natha | It is a wonderful work composed by some siddha in his own independent way. It deals with Sricakra, Matrka system, divine powers of the Absolute, pure tattvas and other such important topics of Saivism discussed through an independent method. It bears a detailed commentary by an ancient author, who being a Vedantic monk, has missed certain very im- |

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portant points on Tantric philosophy and theology expressed in the *Vasantatilaka* verses in the work.

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|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 3. Mahārtha-
manjari | Mahesvara-
nanda
Natha | It is a work on the philosophy and theology of Saiva monism, written by a Kaula siddha in a dialect of Maharashtrai prakrt. |
| 4. Mahārtha-
manjari-
Parimala | -do- | It is a scholarly commentary in Sanskrit, written by the author on his own Maharashtrai couplets mentioned above. It is a store-house of information regarding the history of Kashmir-Saivism. It presents Saiva monism from the view of a Kaula. |
| 5. Kamakala-
vilasa | Punyananda
Natha | It deals with the theological doctrines in connection with the <i>Upasana</i> of Sricakra. |
| 6. Kamakala-
vilasa-
Tika | Amrtananda
Natha | It is a Sanskrit commentary on the above mentioned work of Punyananda Natha. |
| 7. Cidvilasa | -do- | It is a small work dealing with the fundamental principles of Saiva monism. |
| 8. Vatulanatha
Sutra | Vatulanatha | A small work on Saiva monism composed by a Kaula Siddha. |
| 9. Vatulanatha-
sutra-Tika | Ananta-
sakti | It is a commentary on Vatula-nathan-sutra. |

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|------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 10. Mahanaya-
prakasa | Sitikantha | A work on Kaula theology written in accordance with Vamakesvari Tantra. Its couplets are in Kashmirian Apabhramsa language and the commentary is in Sanskrit. |
| 11. Bhavopahara | Cakrapani
Natha | It is an eulogy to Siva alluding philosophic principles of Saiva monism. |
| 12. Bhavopahara-
Vivarana | Ramyadeva | It is a commentary on Bhavopahara. |
| 13. Devinama-
Vilasa | Sahib Kaula | It is a lengthy poem based on Bhavani-sahasra-naman, a Tantric hymn to Mother Goddess, and is written by a Kaula who was a siddha. |

Further Historical Information

1. *Durvasas*

According to Hindu mythology Durvasas is the son of sage Atri and the pious lady Anasuya. He is being taken as a *cirajlvīn*, a person living for long long ages. The tradition of monistic Saivism takes him as the originator of that school of philosophy which is now known as Kashmir Saivism. Besides, he is the first human teacher of the fresh teaching of the Trika school of Saivite sadhana. People of the present age may take him as a mythical figure. But his perpetual existence, along with a particular name and form, is in fact an undeniable reality. Acharya Amrtavagbhava, the originator of Neo Saivism, had a vision of Durvasas in 1919 A.D. at his ancestral home at Varanasi. The sage taught the boy Acharya a highest type of Sambhava yoga through which he had a direct realization of the main principles and doctrines of Saiva monism expressed by him in his important philosophic works like *Atma-vilasa*, *Vimsatika-sastram* and *Mahanubhava-Sakti-stotram*. (See his *Desika darsanam* and *Siddhamaharahasyam*-44 to 46.) Many mythological stories describing the wrath of Durvasas, mostly based on mere poetic imagination, can be taken as fiction, lying very far from real history. Such stories were created even by Saivas like Kalidasa and Banabhatta, not to speak of Vaisnavas. Acharya Amrtavagbhava saw him as the personified divine compassion of the Lord. Information about his literary contribution to Saivism has already been given in detail. The saying,

"Aghorannaparo mantro Mahimnonapara stutih" pertains, in fact, to such hymn by Duvasas and not to that by Puspadanta. Besides, the hymn by Puspadanta is mythological in character. The philosophic term *Spanda* finds its earliest use in two verses of Parasambhu-mahima-stava. (ch. VI-4 and 5).

2. *Vasugupta*

As has already been said, Vasugupta, the discoverer of Sivasutra, was a *Mathikaguru* in the line of Tryambakaditya. He can, most probably, have belonged to the family of Atri-gupta who was a Brahmana of the highest rank, born in the gotra of Agastya (See T.A. XXXVII-38), He should not therefore be taken as a VaiSya on account of his surname 'Gupta'.

Vasugupta either lived or practised *sadhana* at some place under the foot of Mahadeva mountain, situated to the east of Srinagar and the sutras of Siva were revealed to him in that very mountainous area. He discovered in them the essence of the principle of Spanda, as well as the theological method of its actual realization through a yogic practice of directing one's attention to the constant spiritual stir of his innermost self-awareness, manifesting itself outwardly in the form of the finer functions of animation. Such flutter of self-awareness is known as *Spanda*. Regular practice in the intuitional realization of Spanda results in direct realization of the exact nature of the real self of a being and a practitioner discovers himself to be none other than the Almighty God, manifesting outwardly the whole phenomenal existence, along with all its functions, brought about by Him through the divine stir of His superior spiritual vibration which consists of a constant flutter of limitless blissfulness. Such basic character of one's innermost consciousness was termed by him as Spanda. He taught the philosophic significance of Spanda and the theological method of its realization to his disciples and Bhatta Kallata among them built the Spanda-Sastra through his works like Spanda-karika, Spanda-sarvasva ect., as already discussed. Such practice became very popular with Kashmirian sadhakas.

As has already been said, Bhatta Kallata mentioned Vasugupta as the master preceptor who gathered and knit together (Drbdham) the nectar of Spanda (spandamrtam) out of the ocean of Sivasutra, and such description of Vasugupta, as the collector of the principle of Spanda, created such a deep impression in the minds of most of the ancient teachers, authors and scholars of Kashmir Saivism that even Abhinavagupta took Vasugupta as the author of Spandakarika. Such indication is contained in his VivrtivimarSini (I.P.V.V. vol. 11-p.312). Such things do happen very often. The terms Apavarga¹, Kaivalya², Nirvana³ and Brahmanirvana⁴ do in fact denote different types of the functions of animation in Susupti, the sleeping state, but have ever since been accepted and used as synonymns meaning liberation, even though these are defined differently in the respective schools of philosophy. That is due just to a sort of non-attention and not to ignorance. Similar has been the case with the authorship of Spandakarika.

3. *Bhatta Kallata*

Bhatta Kallata was such a great siddha who had attained so much fame in Kashmir that Kalhana could not ignore him while writing the accounts of only the rulers of that land along with their socio-political activities. Kallata has been described by him as the foremost one among such *siddhas* who came down to earth for the uplift of mankind that was accomplished during the reign of king Avantivarman. (R.T, V-66). The indigenous Brahmanas of Kashmir were known as Bhattas. Being a Bhatta, he belonged to some indigenous family of the Brahmanas of Kashmir, just like other Bhattas e.g. Mammata, Kaiyata, Lollata, Udbhata etc. Having attained

1. Apavargastyaga-moksayoh, Kriyavasane saphalye "(Med. Kosa.), meaning absolute lack of propensity towards willing, knowing and doing as propounded in Nyaya-vaiesika.
2. Kevalasya bhavah Kaivalyam, meaning absolute loneliness of the Samkhya yoga conception of liberation.
3. Extinction of Alaya vijnana, as propounded by the Buddhists.
4. Merger into Brahman as taught by Advaita-Vedanta.

ned prominence during the reign of Avantivarman, he can be placed in the middle of the ninth century A D. His son Bhatta Mukula wrote *Abhidhavr̥tti-matr̥ka*, a small work included in Alankara-sastra.

Bhatta Kallata, a born siddha, learnt from Vasugupta the philosophical and theological significance of the doctrine of Spanda, as well as that method of the practical practice of its direct realization, which became known afterwards as *Spanda-tattvavivik̥ti*(S.K..21). He developed a special system of the process of its practice as well as the principles of philosophy related to it in his works like Spandakarika, Spanda-sarvasva etc.

Bhatta Bhaskara (10th cent.) praises him as the author of *Spanda sutra* and *Tattvar̥tha-cintamani*, which he states to have been respectively the commentaries on the first three and the fourth sections of *Sivasutra*. Abhinavagupta mentions such two commentaries under the titles *Madhuvahin̥l* and *Tattvar̥thacintamani*. (I.P.V.V.vol.2.p.30). Out of these works Spanda-sutra is just another name of Spanda-karika. The couplets of the work, being very brief in their form, and expressing immensely vast ideas, have been taken and referred as sutras by several authors, as is the case with the couplets of *Isvarapratyabhij̥na* of Utpaladeva. Ksemaraja refers to the Karikas as Spanda-sutras (Sp.s, p. 3,8,25). Nothing more is known about Madhuvahini. It may have either been just another name of Spandakarika or may have been some other commentary on Sivasutra which is lost. Passages from *Tattvar̥tha-cintamani* have been quoted by later authors like Abhinavagupta, Utpala-vaishnava and Ksemarala. Some of such passages look like sutras and some as explanations. It appears that the fourth section of Sivasutra, along with the commentary by Bhatta Kallata, was combinedly known among scholars and authors as *Tattvar̥tha-cintamani* and no distinction was shown by them between the two, as has been the case with Vakyapadiya and its commentary. See T.A. 6-12, I.P.V.V. vol. I11, p. 349, T.A.V. vol. XI. p. 138, S.S.V. p.-69, S.S. p. 22)

A Sutra of Siva, quoted by Abhinavagupta as such in his Viv̥rti-vimar̥Sini on *Isvarapratyabhij̥na*, is not found any-

where in the three sections of any of the three editions of Sivasutra, bearing the commentaries by Bhatta Bhaskara, Ksemaraja and Varadaraja. (See I.P.V.V. vol. II, p. 301). It can have been taken from the fourth section of that work mentioned by Bhatta Bhaskara.

Bhatta Pradyumna, the son of a maternal uncle of Bhatta Kallata, was his chief disciple. Though a Saiva by tradition, he was much more devoted to the Sakti-aspect of the Absolute and consequently expressed Saivism through a Sakta angle of vision and his such academic action was criticized by Somananda in the 3rd chapter of his *Sivadṛṣṭi*.

4. *Somananda*

Somananda was that ancient teacher of Saiva monism who, having had a vision of Lord Siva in a dream, was instructed by him to express the Tantric philosophy concerned through the popular logical method and to write down a typical philosophic treatise on it for such purpose. Consequently, he drew the principles of philosophy and doctrines of practice of Saiva monism from the Agamas, arranged them properly and wrote a philosophical treatise, entitled *Sivadṛṣṭi* through the logical method and style laid down for the purpose by the authors of *Nyāyasastra*. Besides, he conducted a critical study of all the prevalent schools of thought through the same method and style and pointed out the main locunae found in them. He wrote a commentary on *Paratrisika*, an important and abstruse Tantric work, mystic in character, dealing with the highest types of esoteric practices in Sambhava-yoga, termed as *Matrika* and *Malini*. That commentary is not now available, but a few passages from it have been quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Vivaraṇa* on that work. Such quotations show somananda as a master of the Kaula sadhana as well. The seventh chapter of *Sivadṛṣṭi* proves the author to have been a perfect master of the Trika system of the theological practice of Saiva monism. The work displays his perfect mastery over the Indian method of logical expression, Samskrit grammar and the typical style of the philosophic argumentation of Indian thinkers. Besides,

it reveals his comprehensive knowledge of the exact significance of all the main prevalent schools of Indian thought, not less than fifteen in number.

Most of the Brahmanic thinkers of India used to criticize the subtle logical arguments of the *Vijnanavada* school of Buddhism without trying to grasp fully their exact significance. But somananda laid emphasis on the importance of the exact understanding of the views of an antagonist, before starting to criticise them. Such commendable tradition, laid by Somananda, was perfectly followed by utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta, especially in their works like commentaries on *sivadrsti* and *Vivrti* on *Isvarapratyabhija* as well as *Vimarsin* on it. Thus says Abhinavagupta on the point - *Tesam* (Somananda-nathanarn) hi idrSi Sailih -

Svapaksan parapaksaṃsca
Nihsesena na veda yah,
Svayam sa samsayambhodhau
Nimajjamstarayet katham. (quota. P.T.v. p. 117).

As a result of his such broad view, Somananda devotes not less than fiftyfive couplets to the criticism of the logical views of *vijnanavada*, discusses at sufficient length the views of *Sunyavada* and the theory of Carvakas, while devoting just a few couplets to each of all the other schools of Indian thought, in the sixth chapter of his *Sivadrsti*.

Sitikantha, the writer of *Bala-bodhini-nydsa*, a commentary on a work on Sanskrit grammar, says therein that he was a descendent of some Soma who lived at Padmapura and who was capable to exercise both, divine grace and wrath. Such Soma, a powerful siddha, possessing such divine powers, may, most probably, have been none other than Somananda. He may, accordingly, have been a resident of Pampore, a place about seven miles to the south east of Srinagar.

Dr. S.N. Tikku, a well read Sanskrit scholar of Kashmir, relying on some writings by Narahari in his *Raja-nighantu*, says that Somananda lived at Simhapura, the modern Sempore village near Pampore. Such mention by Narahari is yet to be examined by the writer of these lines.

Most of the later descendents of the family of Somananda fled to Jammu, Punjab and Kangra during the tyrannical reign of a fanatic Muslim ruler, named Sikandar Butsi-kan, in the first half of the fifteenth century and got mixed with the Brahmins of those areas. Those who stayed on in the Valley were either killed or converted to Islam. It is on such account that all the Kashmirian families under the surname "Tryambe", found at several places in the Valley, are Muslims. No Hindu under such family name is now found anywhere. But such Muslim families do, even now, enjoy sufficient social respect.

5. *Utpaladeva*

The most important work on the philosophic theory of Kashmir Saivism is *Isvara-pratyabhijna* and its author, Utpaladeva is the most prominent one among the ancient masters of the subject. He was the chief disciple of Somananda and succeeded him as the presiding teacher of the school of Tryambaka. His available works on Saiva monism have already been enlisted in an appendix. But he had written some other work or works as well, because several quotations from his works, given by Abhinavagupta in his famous *Vimarsini on Isvarapratyabhijna*, cannot be traced in any of his available works. Abhinavagupta quotes them as written by the author of *Isvarapratyabhijna*, but does not mention their actual sources.

6. *Bhatta Bhaskara*

Having the word Bhatta as his surname, he also belonged to some indigenous family of Kashmiri Brahmanas. He was the seventh presiding teacher in the line of the disciples of Vasugupta. His preceptor was Bhatta Srikantha.

Bhatta Bhaskara found Sivasutra as depicting mainly the highest type of Sambhavopaya conducted through a forceful will power expressed in the Siitra-"Udyamo bhairavah" (S.S. 1-5). Such *upaya* is the cent percent direct means of intuitive realization of the real nature of the self of a being.

Such intuitional self knowledge has been named by Bhaskara as *CitprakaSa*, the light of pure consciousness. It is the superior psychic light of self-awareness of a being. Some of its primary results have been described in the first chapter of Sivasutra. The second chapter, as interpreted by Bhaskara, is devoted to the depiction of the self-luminous brilliance of the psychic light of such self-realization, having a spontaneous rise at the level of the intellect of a sadhaka. It is a result of his attainment of maturity in the practice of the above mentioned 'Udyama'. Such spontaneous rise of the correct intellectual knowledge of the real nature of one's innermost self has been termed by Bhatta Bhaskara as *Sahaja-vidyodaya*. Several superior results of such rise of spontaneous self-knowledge, as well as many super natural powers, rising through its practice, have been depicted, according to Bhaskara's interpretation, in the third chapter of Sivasutra. Such powers of a yogin have been termed as "*Vibhutis*" or siddhis that are of use in some mundane activities. Bhaskara gives suitable and appropriate headings to such chapters of Sivasutra in accordance with his interpretation as discussed above. Such three headings are (1) *Clit-svarupa-nirupanam*, (2) *Sahaja-vidyodaya-nirupanam*, and (3) *Vibhuts panda*. These agree with the headings given by Bhatta Kallata to the three chapters of Spanda-Karika, as explained by the author himself.

Bhatta Bhaskra takes most of the sutras in all the three chapters of Sivasutra as depicting some facts and interprets them in the present tense or *Lat Lakara*, meaning that such and such things do happen as a result of maturity in the practice of 'Udyama'. The same view had been adopted by Bhatta Kallata in his Spanda-karika and the *Vrtti on it*. Their view is the traditional one, come down from Vasugupta through an unbroken line of preceptors and disciples.

7 and 8. Bhatta Bhutiraja and Bhattenduraja.

Being known as Bhattas, they also belonged to some indigenous family of Kashmirian Brahmanas. Bhatta Bhutiraja was a perfect siddha who had initiated Narasimhagupta, the father of Abhinavagupta, who also counts him among his

teachers imparting secret *mantras* of Saivite sadhana. Bhattenduraja, a son of Bhatta Bhutiraja, imparted the secret sadhana of the school of Srinatha to Abhinavagupta, besides, teaching him Bhagavadgita. Helaraja, who wrote a commentary on Vakyapadiya, was another son of Bhatta Bhutiraja. Kalhana mentions some ancient historian under the name Helaraja, the author of the voluminous Parthivavali, which could not become available to him. It is difficult to say who that Helaraja was. Was he the son of Bhatta Bhutiraja or some other scholar? Both these teachers of Saivism belonged to the earlier part of the tenth century A.D.

9. *Sambhunatha*

Abhinavagupta pays tribute to several teachers from whom he learnt different subjects and topics. But so far as the definite and doubtless illumination of the finest secrets of the theory and practice of both Kula and Trika systems is concerned, he pays the highest tribute to Sambhunatha, the master preceptor of the *Ardha-tryambaka* school of monistic Saivism, started by Tryambakaditya I through his daughter. Such school of Saivism had later shifted to the shrine of *Vajreivari* at Kangra which was known as *Jdlandharapitha*. Abhinavagupta pays tribute to him in more than one of his works and quotes him as an authority on some mysterious topics of theory and practice in his *Tantraloka*, not less than twenty times in its different chapters. He has been praised there with epithets like "*Jagaduddhrtiksamah*" (capable to emancipate the whole world), "*Trikarthambhodhicandramah*" (the moon raising tides in the ocean of the Trika system of Saivism), "*drsta-bhairava*" (Lord Siva in a visible form) and so on. Sambhunatha hailed from the South, received initiation in the secret doctrines of Saivism from Sumatinatha, who also flourished in the South, and who lived at Mallikarjuna in Andhra. Later on Sambhunatha moved to North and became very famous as the master of the *Ardhatryambaka* school at the above mentioned *Jalandharapitha*.

Jayaratha is not correct in saying that Sambhunatha, having received initiation from Somadeva, was not a direct

disciple of Sumatinatha, because Abhinavagupta refers to him more than once as a direct disciple of Sumati. For instance he says:

*Ityetat prathamopaya-rupam dhyanam nyarupayat,
Sri Sambhunatho me tustas tasmai sri Sumaiiprabhuh.*
(T.A. V-41)

*Iti Sri Sumati-prajnacandrikapasta-tamasah,
Sri Sambhunathah sadbhavam jagradadau nyrupayat.*
(T.A.X-287)

Prthvidhara, the author of *Bhuvanesvari-stotra*, refers to him by two names, Sambhunatha and Siddhanatha. Having been a Siddha of a highest rank, he may have become famous as Siddhanatha as well. Sadhakas, having a high devotion towards their teachers, did not very often utter the exact name of a preceptor. Jayaratha speaks about Keyuravati' an ancient teacher of Kalinaya practised by him, as 'Kakara-devi'. Fourteen beautiful stanzas of *Kramastotra*, composed by that Siddhanatha, alias Sambhunatha, have been preserved by Jayaratha by quoting them in his commentary on *Tantraloka*, chap. IV. In the line of the disciples of this Sambhunatha appeared Saiva Nagarjuna in the thirteenth century. A chapter has already been devoted to him.

10 *Laksmanagupta*

He was a disciple of Utpaladeva and the teacher of Abhinavagupta in the Pratyabhijna philosophy. It appears from a historical information, given by Abhinavagupta in his *VimarSini* on *Isvara-pratyabhijna-vivrti*, that his education in the system of Pratyabhijna philosophy was entrusted by Utpaladeva himself to his disciple Laksmanagupta, perhaps on account of Abhinava's minor age of childhood. No work from the pen of Laksmanagupta is available at present, but he must have written some work on the subject concerned, because the views expressed by him, on a topic of sadhana, have been recorded, and words used by him have been quoted

by Jayaratha in his commentary on *Tantraloka* of Abhinavagupta (T.A.V. vol. 12 p. 148). He can chronologically be placed in the earlier part of the tenth century and the later part of ninth.

11. *Abhinavagupta*

Abhinavagupta, being the final authority on the interpretation of the theoretical principles and practical doctrines of Kashmir Saivism, is the most important master of the subject. Detailed information about his contribution to the subject can be found elsewhere in this very volume. It has, besides, been already discussed that he, having appeared in the family of Atrigupta, was not 2 Vaisya, but a *Pragraya-janma*, that is, a Brahmana of the highest rank (P. Tr. V. p. 283). born in the gotra of Agastya. He learnt many *sastras* in both their aspects of theory and practice from many great scholar-saints to whom he pays tribute in his works, especially in his *Tantraloka*. His father Narsinhagupta, alias Cukhulaka, taught him Samskrit grammar, logic, poetics etc. He learnt *Pratyabhijna-sastra* from Laksmanagupta, to whom he was entrusted for such purpose by Utpaladeva himself, as mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his *Vivrti-vimarsinil*. Sambhunatha of Jalandharapitha, who imparted to him the secret doctrines of the *Ardhatryambaka* school of Saiva monism, was that master preceptor of the great author who removed all doubts from his head and heart about both, the theory and the practice of Saiva monism. Being the perfect master of both, the *Trika* and *Kula* systems, he enlightened Abhinavagupta on all the knotty problems of practice in the *sadhana* of these two systems and removed all his doubts regarding some mysterious topics of their theory as well. Vamanatha and Bhattenduraja initiated him in the *sadhana* of the *dvaita* and *dvaitadvaita* systems of Saivism, started by Amardaka and Srinatha respectively. Bhutiraja and Mahesvara, two highly advanced *siddhas*, imparted to him several secret doctrines about the ritual aspect of the *Trika* system. He mentions several other teachers from whom he learnt the

secrets of several sastras. Abhinavagupta did not have any wife or children (I.P.V.V. vol. **II**, p. 405). He had lost his mother when he was a child and was brought up by his father. He did not become a sannyasin and did not give up Brahmanic symbol, the scared thread.

Though Atrigupta, the ancestor of Abhinavagupta, had settled at Srinagar on the bank of *Vitasta* at some place which faced the *Sitan'sumauli* temple of siva, yet it appears **that** his descendents may have later shifted to an area situated to the north of the Sarika hill. That area is still know as Gota-pore or Guptapura. It is just possible that these Guptas, and especially Abhinavagupta, may have had some close contacts with places like Gupta-ganga and Gupta-tirtha, (at present Gopitirtha), situated on the eastern bank of the Dal lake. No people under the surname Gupta are known at present at Srinagar or elsewhere in the Valley. Abhinavagupta shall remain ever alive in this world in the form of three of his monumental works, namely-Tantraloka, Isvara-pratyabhijna-Vimarsinl and Abhinavabharatl (on fine arts).

The story about Abhinavagupta's entry into the Bherua cave at the end of his mortal life, accepted by Dr. K.C. Pandey as an actual historical fact, appears to the writer of these lines as a ficticious account, set afloat by some devotees of ancient authors of Saivism on the basis of their own devotional imagination. No written evidence in favour of the correctness of such account is available anywhere. Besides, such *guhapravesa* is not recommended in the practice of Kashmir Saivism. Several such ficticious stories have been set afloat at different times by different devotees, for instance - (1) logical discussions between Abhinavagupta and Snnkara-charya, (2)consequent authorship of the former with respect to Pancastavi (of Dharmacharya), (3) debate between Sankara-charya and Abhinavagupta in Assam, (4) Several debatable episode regarding the life history of the great Vedantic teacher contained in Sankaradigvijaya of Madhava, (I4th century), but not corroborated by the Sankaravijaya of Anantanandagiri, (10th century) and so on. Such things are not uncommon in India. Gandhi Ji had to refute such accounts prevailing about him and having been set afloat by people

devoted to him, during his imprisonment. Abhinavagupta also alludes to such things having been prevalent in his time. One thing is really possible in this regard. Abhinavagupta may have performed a *cakrayaga* of the Kaula system in the cave which is sufficiently specious from within. Such yaga is performed very secretly in some closed door compartments. The interior of the cave contains many small idols at some fixed spots. The oral tradition is not thus totally baseless and the cave can have some real relation with Abhinavagupta, though the story of *guhapravesa* is not correct. (See *Paratisika-vivarana* - closing verses).

12. *Ksemaraja*

Ksemaraja, the prominent disciple of Abhinavagupta, can have belonged to that family of Kashmirian scholars in which appeared teachers and authors like Bhutiraja, Helaraja, Induraja, Yogaraja etc. He was a highly intelligent and vastly well-read scholar and was egotically conscious about his such merit. Besides, he appears to have been keenly desirous to make a show of his superior intelligence and wast academic efficiency. Such tendency in him resulted in a sort of complexity and obscurity in his expression. But, since no other disciple of Abhinavagupta took any considerable interest in academic activities, Ksemaraja became popular as the best disciple of the great teacher. This fact is borne out by the remarks of a contemporary author, Madhuraja and by later authors like Sivopadhyaya. (see *Gurunathaparamarsa* p. 1 and *Vijnanabhairavoddyota*, p. 143). A detailed information about his vast contribution to Kashmir Saivism has already been given in an index in the work in hand. He composed his commentary on *stava-cintamani* at Vijayesvara (modern vejibror) near Ananthing and may have probably inhabited that very town.

Ksemaraja's most important work is his *Vimaritni* commentary on *Sivasutra*. It is a scholarly work in deed, but very often it does not follow the traditional interpretation, come down from Vasugupta. He finds new interpretations to it and at places to *spandakarika* as well. The headings given by him

to the three chapters of Sivasutra do not suit their contents. He sees such three chapters as discussing the three *Updyas* of the Trika system of sadhana. But that is not correct. The elements of such Upayas do mutually overlap in all the three chapters. The first chapter does not discuss clearly such important topics of *Sambhavopaya* as *Matrka* system and the system of *Malint*, nor does it discuss the theory of reflection. The second chapter does not touch such important elements of *Saktopaya* as *Bhavana*, *Vikalpa-samskara*, or its varieties like Yoga, Japa, Homa, Yaga, Snaana, Vrata etc. The third chapter does not throw light on any of the important varieties like *Dhyana*, *Uccdra*, *Karana*, *Dhvant* and *Sthanakalpana*, of *Anavopaya*. Ksemaraja explains most of the sutras in the sense of *Viddhi*, denoted by a verb in imperative mood or a *Krdanta* like "tavyat" etc. That is not at all correct, because all the sutras in the third chapter aim at throwing light on the *Vibhutis* or *Siddhts* of *Sambhavayoga* and are meant to say that such things do happen automatically as a result of a successful practice in that yoga.

13. Jayaratha

He belonged to a family of traditional scholars living at Vijayesvara, modern Vejibror. Scholars interested in Tantric sadhana shall remain indebted to him for ever on account of the light thrown by him on it through his *Viveka* commentary on the *Tantraloka* of Abhinavagupta. *Tantraloka* is the only important and comprehensive work which discusses in detail the Tantric system of religious spiritual practice, and brings about a cohesive integration between the philosophic theory and theological sadhana of the higher and finer Tantrism. That work could not have become clearly intelligible had not Jayaratha composed the detailed *Viveka* commentary on it. Besides, Jayaratha quotes profusely from Tantras which are not at all available at present. Some of such prominent Tantras are *Siddhantantra*, *Trisirobhairava*, *Ratnamala* etc. In addition, the commentary is a storehouse of historical information about Tantras and teachers of Tantrism. Even though it is not quite clear on many points and is not quite

correct at some places, its importance cannot be at all ignored.

14.-15. *Madhuraja and Varadaraja*

These two writers were father and son. They belonged to Kerala and came to Kashmir in search of the knowledge of Tantric Saivism. Madhuraja attended the school of Abhinavagupta for several years and wrote a description of the great master, his associates and his ashrama under the title 'Gurunatha-paramarSa. Varadaraja visited Kashmir in the time of Ksemaraja, studied Saiva monism at his feet and composed another *Vartika* on Sivasutra in accordance with the views of Ksemaraja, as expressed in *Sivasutra-vimarsini*. It is that *Vartika* which clarifies the ideas of Ksemaraja expressed obscurely in his *VimarSini* and is therefore an essential aid to its understanding, though neither of these two works follows the traditional interpretation of Sivasutra, come down from Vasugupta through an unbroken line of disciples.

16. *Adinatha*

There are a few lines of Saiva authors following some systems of practice other than the Trika. An author of such a line is of such views as are sufficiently similar to those of the authors of the Trika system. He is Adinatha whose *Anuttara-prakaSa-pancaSika* is available, though without any commentary. It deals with topics like Tattvas, Matrka, Saktis, Saktopaya etc. in accordance with the principles and doctrines of Kashmir Saivism. Some hermits of the line of Gorakhanatha claim this Adinatha as the originator of their school of philosophy and theology. But the work does not contain any teachings of *Hathayoga*, popularly prevalent in the sect of Gorakhanatha. The term Spanda, used in its technical sense, occurs in it in two couplets no's 49 and 52. The term "Sphuratta", a synonym of the term Spanda, is also found at three places in the couplets No's 4 and 7. No dependable clue about the history of this Adinatha is available. It can not therefore be said as to which time and place did he belong. One of the couplets from his work has been quoted by Mahes-

varananda in the fourteenth century in his *Maharthamanjari-parimala*. No ancient author has mentioned or quoted him. His surname Natha indicates his relation with Saktism of the Kaula system. Most probably he may have belonged to medieval age.

17. *Sivopadhyaya*

Contribution of Sivopadhyaya to Kashmir Saivism has already been depicted. He resided at Srinagar. His third ancestor, who lived at Balahome, was drowned in a stream in his young age, leaving behind his young wife and an infant boy who was deaf, dumb and cripple from his birth. When, after some time, the poor widow could not find anything in her home to fall back upon even for day to day necessities of life, she came down to Srinagar along with the invalid child and took refuge in the house of a great saint scholar named Sri Krsna Joo, living at Bohrikadal. It was this saint to whom goddess Maharajni disclosed her present place of worship at Tulamula, which had remained submerged under water right from the tyranical rule of king Sikandar Butshikan. The saint welcomed the lady and she started to live there like a member of the family, attending to domestic activities and getting the necessities of life.

After a few years Pt. Krs'naJoo was one day moved very much by compassion on the diseased boy and through the exercise of his spiritual powers he cured the young boy of all the three diseases of deafness, dumbness and crippledom. The boy, named Gangadhara Upadhyaya, was then educated by Sri Krsna Joo and in course of time became a scholar. Besides, he developed an intense devotion towards Mother goddess and spent much of his time in worshipping her at several important places of her worship. His son Prakasa Upadhyaya, better known as Gashi-nanavore, used to roam about barefooted in the important shrines dedicated to the Universal Mother. Through the grace of the Mother, he got a son who possessed such a sharp intelligence and so fine a mental capacity as to grasp the exact significance of the sastras of high standard, even while he was a young boy below his teens; so

much so that even his teachers developed jealousy toward him and did not tolerate him becoming a greater scholar. Therefore they avoided to impart education to him. Then his father took him to Tulamula and approached ardently the Mother goddess Maharajni for her benevolent grace. At the dead of night the deity appeared in the form of a young girl, awakened the boy who was asleep, touched his eyes with her hands and blessed him in such a way that he started reading a book under the light of a lamp used in the worship of the deity. The boy went on reading, the girl disappeared, and Prakasa-Upadhyaya came back from meditation to a normal state. The boy told him all about the girl. Then he was given all kinds of help books and commentaries with the help of which he became a renowned scholar through self-study, without the help of any teacher. Thus he became famous throughout the Valley as Sivopadhyaya, the most brilliant scholar of his age. He built a big library at his home and many students received both education and initiation from him. The oldest manuscripts of the works like Rajatarahgini, Tantraloka, Isvarapratyabhijna-Vimarsini, Tantrasasa, Yogavasistha etc. became later available to the research scholars of the present age from the private libraries of the descendents of Sivopadhyaya.

Many good scholars appeared among his descendents and the last one among such scholars was Ananda Pandit Upadhyaya. He was both a scholar and a saint and used to impart initiation in Srlvidya to many disciples. The readers of these lines may or may not believe, but it is a fact that Sri Ananda Pandit had frequent contacts with Sivopadhyaya who used to come to him, haunt a child and discuss through his speech several matters of mutual interest with the Pandit. The Pandit could quote passage from a peotic work composed by Sivopadhyaya and dealing with the historical account of his ancestors and his own, as well as those of the discovery of the present day place of the worship of Sri Maharajni at Tulamula by Sri Krsna Pandit. The above mentioned historical information was received by the writer from Sri Ananda Pandit who had promised to search out the manuscript of that poetic work by Sivopadhyaya, or at least to write down

in proper order such verses of the MS as he could clearly recollect; but that did not actually happen till he passed away to some abode of siddhas in 1966-A.D. and the verses of the historical work composed by Sivopadhyaya became extinct along with his physical form which was duly cremated at Srinagar.

18. *Amrtavagbhava Acaarya*

He appeared in 1903 A.D. in a Maharashtra Brahmana family which had shifted to the north several generation earlier. His ancestors used to narrate *srimad Bhagavata Purana* and that was their means of livelihood. Most of them were great scholars but did not go for any service. His father, Sri Krsna Varakale alone served at several posts of high income and honour for a few years. He passed away in young age when the Acharya was only of twelve years. At that time he was a student of Sanskrit getting some scholarship. He started doing proof reading of books published by publishers at Varanasi. The little income earned by that work helped him in feeding himself, his mother and his younger brother, Ramachandra Varakale. M.M. Sri Gopinath Kaviraj, the Principal of the Queen's Sanskrit College, appointed him as a research scholar in the Library of the college. He left Varanasi when he was in later twenties and moved about through out the whole of North India till 1982 when he passed away at Delhi to some abode of siddhas. He had many wonderful experiences as the result of his *yogasadhana*. Some of them have been described by him in the last chapter of his *Stddhamarahasya*.

19. *Pt. Rameshvara Jha*

He was a Sanskrit scholar of Varanasi who, having visited Kashmir in the past fifties, studied works like *Tantraloka* and, collecting the doctrines of the Trika system from them, composed a fresh work on the subject in the style of Samskrit Karikas under the title - *Purnata-pratyabhijna* which is available in print with a translation in Hindi.

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